

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1833.

Art. I. *The History of England.* By the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh, LL.D. M.P. Volume the Third. (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, Vol. xxxvii.) Fcap. 8vo. pp. xlii. 368. London, 1832.

SIR James Mackintosh had proceeded to the 211th page of 'this third volume of his History of England, when literature and his country were deprived of him by his lamented death.' A melancholy interest attaches to this portion of his unfinished labours; and we avail ourselves of the opportunity, to attempt, with the aid of two well written notices of his life and writings, now before us *, a brief memoir of a man who united in no ordinary degree the qualities, rarely associated, of the philosopher, the jurist, the forensic orator, and the man of letters.

The father of Sir James Mackintosh was a captain in the army, whose life was chiefly spent in foreign and garrison service. James, the eldest son, was born at Alldowrie in the county of Inverness, on the 24th of October, 1765. For his early instruction and discipline, he was greatly indebted to the superintending care of an excellent grandmother, upon whom the charge of him chiefly devolved. He was afterwards placed at the school of Mr. Stalker, at Fortrose in Rosshire, where his talents were so far elicited as to encourage his friends to determine on sending him to college, with a view to his being qualified for some liberal profession. He was accordingly placed at King's College, Aberdeen, under Mr. Leslie, where he soon distinguished himself by his proficiency in

* The Annual Biography and Obituary. 1833. Vol. xvii. Art. X. North American Review. No. LXXVII. Art. *Sir James Mackintosh.* The writer of this last article was introduced to Sir James, when on a visit to London in 1817, and during that and some subsequent visits, enjoyed, he says, a good deal of his society.

Greek and mathematics; and it was there, when in his eighteenth year, that he first formed an acquaintance and close intimacy with that eminent friend of whom he had undertaken to be the biographer, when his own death prevented his paying that tribute to his memory. Mr. Hall was about a year and a half older than Sir James Mackintosh. Their tastes, at the commencement of their intercourse, were widely different; and upon some most important topics of inquiry, there was little or no congeniality of sentiment between them. But 'the *sub-stratum* of their minds 'seemed of the same cast'; and upon this, Sir James himself thought, their mutual friendship was founded. He became attached to Mr. Hall, he said, 'because he could not help it'. He was 'fascinated by his brilliancy and acumen, in love with his 'cordiality and ardour, and awe-struck by the transparency of 'his conduct and the purity of his principles.' We cannot refrain from forestalling our notice of Dr. Gregory's Memoir of Mr. Hall, by transcribing from it the following paragraph, describing the intimacy of these two distinguished class-mates.

'They read together; they sat together at lecture, if possible; they walked together. In their joint studies, they read much of Xenophon and Herodotus, and more of Plato; and so well was all this known, exciting admiration in some, in others envy, that it was not unusual, as they went along, for their class-fellows to point at them, and say, "*There go Plato and Hērodōtus*". But the arena in which they met most frequently, was that of morals and metaphysics, furnishing topics of incessant disputation. After having sharpened their weapons by reading, they often repaired to the spacious sands upon the seashore, and still more frequently to the picturesque scenery on the banks of the Don, above the old town, to discuss with eagerness the various subjects to which their attention had been directed. There was scarcely an important position in Berkeley's Minute Philosopher, in Butler's Analogy, or in Edwards on the Will, over which they had not thus debated with the utmost intensity. Night after night, nay, month after month, for two sessions, they met only to study or to dispute; yet no unkindly feeling ensued. The process seemed rather, like blows in that of welding iron, to knit them closer together. Sir James said, that his companion, as well as himself, often contended for victory; yet never, so far as he could then judge, did either make a voluntary sacrifice of truth, or stoop to draw to and fro the *serra λογομαχίας*, as is too often the case with ordinary controvertists. From these discussions, and from subsequent meditation upon them, Sir James learned more, as to principles, (such, at least, he assured me, was his deliberate conviction,) than from all the books he ever read. On the other hand, Mr. Hall through life reiterated his persuasion, that his friend possessed an intellect more analogous to that of Bacon, than any person of modern times; and that if he had devoted his powerful understanding to metaphysics, instead of law and politics, he would have thrown an unusual light upon that intricate but valuable

region of inquiry. Such was the cordial, reciprocal testimony of these two distinguished men.' *Memoir of Robert Hall*. (Works, Vol. VI. pp. 14, 15.)

From Aberdeen, Mackintosh repaired to Edinburgh, to complete his education, where he spent three years, attending the lectures of Dr. Cullen and Professor Black, preparatory to his taking up the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Medical studies, however, had but a small portion of his attention; they had few attractions for him; and we are surprised that he should ever have thought of adopting, as a means of subsistence, a profession so little suited to his taste and habits of mind. Was it that the practice of law seemed to present still less scope for speculative and excursive inquiries, and that the science of law, in which he was so peculiarly fitted to excel, has hitherto been deemed an elegant study, rather than a branch of professional accomplishment? Mackintosh pursued the study of medicine, however, so far as to obtain, in 1787, his medical degree; on which occasion, he composed a Latin thesis, 'On Muscular Action,' afterwards published. On leaving the university, he repaired to the metropolis, ostensibly for the purpose of practising as a physician. If he had any serious intention of this nature, the step which he took, in engaging in political controversy, was the most likely to defeat his purpose. The great question of the day was the proposed Regency, in consequence of the first illness of George III. Mackintosh made his *début* as a political writer, by a pamphlet in support of the views of Fox; and his first essay shared the fate of the cause which he espoused. Foiled and disappointed, the young politician repaired to the Continent, apparently with the view of renewing his professional studies. After spending a short time at Leyden, then the most celebrated medical school in Europe, he proceeded to Liege, where he was an eye-witness of the memorable contest between the Prince-Bishop and his subjects. His visit to the Continent must have been little more than a summer tour, since we find him, in this same year, again in London. About the same time, his father died, and bequeathed him a small landed property in Scotland. This may, perhaps, explain another circumstance; that, while as yet a physician without fees, and a writer without fame or influential friends, he ventured upon matrimony. In 1789, he married Miss Stuart, 'a Scottish lady without beauty or fortune, but of great intelligence and most amiable character;'—the sister to Mr. Charles Stuart, the author of several dramatic pieces. In her, he found a partner of his heart, who appreciated his character, and 'urged him on to overcome his almost constitutional indolence.'

In the spring of 1791, Mackintosh started into notoriety, as

the Author of "*Vindiciæ Gallicæ, or a Defence of the French Revolution and its English admirers against the accusations of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke.*" This work, an octavo volume of 379 pages, he is said to have sold, before it was completely written, for a trifling sum; but the publisher liberally presented the Author with triple the original price. At the end of four months, two editions had been sold, and a third appeared at the end of August 1791. The powerful talent displayed in this performance, procured for its Author the acquaintance of Sheridan, Grey, Whitbread, Fox, and the Duke of Bedford. It afterwards led to his being introduced to Burke himself, who invited him to his seat at Beaconsfield; and the visit is said to have resulted in a very considerable modification of the political opinions avowed in that brilliant but immature performance. Time—the very events of the following year—must, even without any such aid from the corrective wisdom of the venerable political philosopher, have wrought some change upon Mackintosh, in common with every sanguine admirer of the French revolution. Yet, those who were the most disappointed by the issue, were not the least sagacious observers; and history rejects alike the generous illusions to which Mackintosh surrendered himself, and the more elaborate misrepresentations of his great anti-Gallican antagonist*.

Fully determined now to relinquish the medical profession, Mr. Mackintosh, in 1792, entered himself as a student of Lincoln's Inn; and in 1795, he was called to the bar; but he does not appear to have obtained any considerable practice. In the year 1798, he projected, as a means of improving his income, the delivering a course of lectures on the Law of Nature and of Nations; and he applied to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, to be allowed the use of their Hall for that purpose. It was not without difficulty that he succeeded in overcoming the objections

* 'Mackintosh,' remarks the American Reviewer, 'gives us the 'frothy effervescence of an immature mind which is still in a state of 'fermentation, while in Burke we have the pure, ripe, golden, glowing 'nectar.' There is certainly more ripeness and body in Burke's performance, though it is scarcely less *heady*. We little expected, however, to meet with so unqualified a panegyric upon that beautiful political romance from a Republican writer. 'Even now,' adds the Reviewer, 'although his (Burke's) practical conclusions have been 'confirmed by the event, and are generally acquiesced in, the public 'mind has no where—no, not even in England—reached the elevation 'of his theory. If it had, we should not witness the scenes that are 'now acting on the theatre of Europe!' This is strange language to come from a New-Englander; and we are really at a loss to know what is meant by Mr. Burke's political theory.

which were raised on the ground of his supposed Jacobin principles. To disprove the calumny, he published his *Introductory Lecture*, which met with general admiration; and Mr. Pitt himself, who was a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, spoke of it as the most able and elegant discourse on the subject in any language. It is said to have been at the immediate recommendation of Lord Loughborough, the Chancellor, that permission was at length given to use the Hall; and Mackintosh delivered his course to a large and most respectable audience. The *Introductory Lecture* is generally considered as the most valuable and important of his printed works; and the whole course, if of any corresponding merit, would be a precious acquisition. But we can scarcely entertain the hope that he has left any thing more than imperfect memoranda. In these lectures, it is remarked by Mr. Campbell, 'Mackintosh, with the eye of a true philosopher, laid bare the doctrines of Rousseau and Vattel, and of a host of their followers, who borrowed their conceptions of the law of nature from the savages of the forest, or from the abodes of the brute creation.' The errors which he combated, have now, however, become so far obsolete, that, eminent as was the service rendered to science at the time, these Lectures would now, perhaps, be deprived of some portion of their interest.

Subsequently to the general election in 1802, Mr. Mackintosh was retained as counsel in several cases of contested elections, and acquitted himself with ability before committees of the House of Commons. The first occasion, however, on which he distinguished himself at the bar, was as counsel in defence of Peltier, the Editor of the *Ambigu*, who was prosecuted in Feb. 1803, for a libel against Bonaparte, then First Consul of France. Mr. Perceval, afterwards prime minister, as attorney general, conducted the prosecution, and was seconded by Mr. Abbot, afterwards Lord Tenterden. Against this array of talent and power, Mackintosh appeared as the single counsel for the defendant; and he delivered, on this occasion, an oration in defence of the liberty of the press, which has been pronounced one of the most finished specimens of modern eloquence. Lord Ellenborough declared it to be the most eloquent oration he had ever heard in Westminster Hall. A translation of it into French, by Mad. de Stael, was circulated throughout Europe. 'We are not sure,' remarks the writer in the *North American Review*, 'that there is any single speech in the English language, which can fairly be compared with it.'

The reputation which Mr. Mackintosh had previously acquired from his Lectures at Lincoln's Inn, had obtained for him the appointment of Professor of the Laws in the East India College at Hertford. His eloquent defence of Peltier procured him the offer of the Recordship of Bombay, which, after some hesitation,

he accepted. With a large and increasing family and a slender and precarious income, he could scarcely decline a high judicial station which promised ample means and literary leisure, although at the cost of expatriation, and, as the event proved, of the loss of health. On this occasion, he received the honour of knighthood. He had previously lost his first wife, and married, in 1798, a daughter of J. B. Allen, Esq., of Cressella, in Pembrokeshire, who, with several children, accompanied him on his voyage to the East.

'It is not very honourable to the discernment of the Government,' remarks the American writer above referred to, 'that they should have permitted the expatriation, for so many of the best years of his life, of one of the master spirits of the country, whose proper sphere of action was the centre of business at home; and it is much to be regretted that private considerations rendered it expedient for Sir James to consent to the proposal.' Want of discernment, in this instance, cannot, however, be fairly imputed to the Government. The constitutional indolence which unfortunately adhered to him, and which rendered his life a course of splendid but desultory efforts, with long intervals of comparative inaction, his deficiency in the habits of business and in the practical knowledge of his profession, together with his singular improvidence, would probably have debarred him from filling that sphere of usefulness at home to which his great talents would otherwise infallibly have raised him. While he remained in India, Sir James discharged his official duties with distinguished zeal, ability, and philanthropy; and it was while there, that the subject of Criminal Jurisprudence became more especially an object of his attention. By his high intellectual and moral qualities, he contributed to elevate the standard of civilization in that remote colony. He founded a literary society at Bombay, as Sir William Jones had done at Calcutta; but he did not engage with similar ardour in the study of the oriental languages, his acquaintance with which was very limited. After a residence in India of between seven and eight years, he found his health seriously impaired by the effects of the climate; and in 1811, he returned to England with his fortune not much improved, and with a liver complaint which adhered to him for the rest of his life, and ultimately shortened his days. He obtained a retiring pension from the East India Company, of 1200*l.* a year; but habits of economy are not to be learned in India.

As soon as his shattered health would permit, Sir James was introduced into Parliament. In July 1813, he entered the House of Commons as representative for the county of Nairn. In 1818, the influence of the Duke of Devonshire secured his return for Knaresborough, for which borough he was re-elected at the subsequent elections of 1820, 1826, 1830, and 1831. On all ques-

tions of foreign policy and international law, on the alien bill, on the liberty of the press, on religious toleration, on slavery, on the settlement of Greece, on Parliamentary Reform, and more especially upon the reform of the Criminal Law, Sir James took a prominent part, and was always to be found on the side of freedom, justice, and humanity. On the questions connected with neutral rights, which grew out of the relations between Great Britain and the United States of America, he cooperated actively and ably with his friend Mr. Brougham in support of a liberal policy. After the close of the last American War, he took occasion, in one of his speeches in the House, to compliment the American Commissioners at Ghent, upon their 'astonishing superiority' over their opponents; a circumstance which we find noticed with great complacency by our North American contemporary, who adds:—'In other speeches, and in his writings, he has often spoken in friendly and favourable terms of this country. This candid,—perhaps partial disposition, in one whose opinion was authority, coming into contrast, as it did, with the meanness and illiberality of many of his contemporaries, had so much endeared the name of Sir James Mackintosh to our citizens, that he was generally styled in the newspapers, whenever he was mentioned, *the friend of America*. A report which was spread soon after the entrance into power of the present ministry, that he was coming out to reside amongst us as British Minister, was heard with much satisfaction; and there cannot be a doubt that his reception would have been of the most gratifying character.' We can scarcely suppose that there was any foundation for the report, as the station would have been ill suited to Sir James, and the state of his health would scarcely have admitted of his encountering, without imminent risk, the trials of a long voyage and a new climate.

After the death of Sir Samuel Romilly, the advocacy of the revision of the Penal Code devolved more especially upon Sir James. He was Chairman of a Committee in the House of Commons on the subject of the Criminal Law in 1819; and in pursuance of its report, he introduced six bills in the course of May 1820. Only three of these were, however, at the time, persisted in; and in the Commutation of Punishment bill, only four offences were suffered to be included in its provisions, out of the eleven for which it was proposed to commute the capital punishment; the other seven being expunged from the bill in the House of Lords. For some time, after the death of Tierney, Sir James was, we believe, regarded as a sort of chief of the Opposition party; but, although a most important auxiliary, he was deficient in many of the requisites demanded by the post of a political leader and tactician. His character as a parliamentary speaker, is thus por-

trayed in an article originally inserted in the *New Monthly Magazine*, and attributed to the pen of Mr. Lytton Bulwer.

“ Sir James Mackintosh never spoke on a subject without displaying, not only all that was peculiarly necessary to that subject, but all that a full mind, long gathering and congesting, has to pour forth upon any subject. The language, without being antithetic, was artificial and ornate. The action and voice were vehement, but not passionate; the tone and conception of the argument, of too lofty and philosophic a strain for those to whom, generally speaking, it was directed. It was impossible not to feel that the person addressing you was a profound thinker, delivering a laboured composition. Sir James Mackintosh's character as a speaker, then, was of that sort acquired in a thin House, where those who have stayed from their dinner, have stayed for the purpose of hearing what is said, and can, therefore, deliver up their attention undistractedly to any knowledge and ability, even if somewhat prolixly put forth, which elucidates the subject of discussion. We doubt if all great speeches of a legislative kind would not require such an audience, if they never travelled beyond the walls within which they were spoken. The passion, the action, the movement of oratory which animates and transports a large assembly, can never lose their effect when passion, action, movement are in the orator's subject; when Philip is at the head of his Macedonians, or Catiline at the gates of Rome. The emotions of fear, revenge, horror, are emotions that all classes and descriptions of men, however lofty or low their intellect, may feel:—here, then, is the orator's proper field. But again; there are subjects, such as many, if not most, of those discussed in our House of Commons, the higher bearings of which are intelligible only to a certain order of understandings. The reasoning proper for these is not understood, and cannot therefore be sympathised with, by the mass. In order not to be insipid to the few, it is almost necessary to be dull to the many. If our Houses of legislature sat with closed doors, they would be the most improper assemblies for the discussion of legislative questions that we can possibly conceive. They would have completely the tone of their own clique. No one would dare or wish to soar above the common-places which find a ready echoing cheer: all would indulge in that vapid violence against persons, which the spirit of party is rarely wanting to applaud. But as it is, the man of superior mind, standing upon his own strength, knows and feels that he is not speaking to the lolling, lounging, indolently listening individuals stretched on the benches around him: he feels and knows that he is speaking to, and will obtain the sympathy of, all the great and enlightened spirits of Europe; and this bears and buoys him up amidst any coldness, impatience, or indifference, in his immediate audience. When we perused the magnificent orations of Mr. Burke, which transported us in our cabinet, and were told that his rising was the dinner bell in the House of Commons; when we heard that some of Mr. Brougham's almost gigantic discourses were delivered amidst coughs and impatience; and when, returning from our travels, where we had heard of nothing but

the genius and eloquence of Sir James Mackintosh, we encountered him ourselves in the House of Commons;—on all these occasions we were sensible, not that Mr. Burke's, Mr. Brougham's, Sir James Mackintosh's eloquence was less, but that it was addressed to another audience than that to which it was apparently delivered. Intended for the House of Commons only, the style would have been absurdly faulty: intended for the public, it was august and correct. There are two different modes of obtaining a parliamentary reputation: a man may rise in the country by what is said of him in the House of Commons, or he may rise in the House of Commons by what is thought and said of him in the country. Some debaters have the faculty, by varying their style and their subjects, of alternately addressing both those without and within their walls, with effect and success. Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Canning were, and Lord Brougham is of this number. Mr. Burke and Sir James Mackintosh spoke to the reason and the imagination, rather than to the passions; and this, together with some faults of voice and manner, rendered these great orators (for great orators they were) more powerful in the printed reports, than in the actual delivery of their speeches. We ourselves heard Sir James Mackintosh's great, almost wonderful, speech upon Reform. We shall never forget the extensive range of ideas, the energetic grasp of thought, the sublime and soaring strain of legislative philosophy, with which he charmed and transported us; but it was not so with the House in general. His Scotch accent, his unceasing and laboured vehemence of voice and gesture, the refined and speculative elevation of his views, and the vast heaps of hoarded knowledge he somewhat prolixly produced, displeased the taste and wearied the attention of men who were far more anxious to be amused and excited, than to be instructed or convinced. We see him now! his bald and singularly formed head working to and fro, as if to collect, and then shake out his ideas; his arm violently vibrating, and his body thrown forward by sudden quirks and starts, which, ungraceful as they were, seemed rather premeditated than inspired. This is not the picture which Demosthenes would have drawn of a perfect orator; and it contains some defects that we wonder more care had not been applied to remedy." * pp. 119—21.

* With this able critique, the reader may be pleased to compare the estimate furnished by the *American Reviewer*, who describes his own impressions. 'His eloquence was of a dignified, manly, and imposing character. His manner was not particularly graceful, and he had a slight Scotch accent; but his language was flowing, copious, energetic, and elegant, and, above all, carried with it to the minds of his hearers, the rich gifts of profound and original thought. The delightful combination of philosophy and taste was exhibited by Mackintosh in higher perfection than it had been by any parliamentary orator since the time of Burke; not excepting even Canning, who yet exemplified it in a very remarkable degree. The eloquence of Sir James was far more finished than that of Brougham; although the latter, from his superior activity and industry, possessed a greater share of political influence, and has finally made a much more brilliant fortune in the

Sir James was elected, in 1822, Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, and again in 1823. On the 1st of December, 1830, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the affairs of India. If our recollection does not deceive us, he held, for a short time, another public office at an intermediate period, which he resigned in consequence of some political changes. Had the state of his health permitted, it is believed that he would have formed a member of the present Administration, or have been promoted to some important and lucrative post. In that case, his American friend remarks, 'after having been nailed for much of his life to the north wall of Opposition, and suffered a good deal from pecuniary embarrassments, he would have found the evening of his days gilded and cheered with the southern sun of power and fortune.' It is not the fact, however, as this Writer imagines, that he was unpensioned and neglected, with no other temporal reward for his labours, than 'a great but dowerless fame.' Our admiration of his splendid endowments must not blind us to the lesson which may be derived from the history of his career. The homely virtues of steady industry and prudence, 'the secrets of fortune,' would have enabled him to secure at least an honourable competency; and while we may respect him for despising wealth, we cannot but regret that his improvidence interfered with his comfort, as much as his desultory habits did with his usefulness. The evening of his life was overcast also, we understand, by trials of a domestic character. We rejoice to be assured by Dr. Gregory, in his *Life of Hall*, that latterly, if a sadder, Sir James became a wiser man in 'the most essential respects;' and that having always been the friend of Virtue, he became, towards the close of his days, more than he had been, the disciple of Religion.

Sir James's health had been for some time rapidly declining; and we were painfully struck, on meeting him at the anniversary of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1831, with the unequivocal indications of premature age. The illness which immediately led to his death was, however, the effect of accident. About the beginning of March 1832, while at dinner, a small particle of bone in a portion of the breast of a boiled chicken, which he was attempting to swallow, stuck in his throat; and it was not till after two days that the obstruction was removed by an emetic.

'The effects of the accident completely unsettled his general health. He afterwards laboured under increasing debility and occasional attacks of severe pains in his head, shoulders, and limbs. A few days before death, the pains suddenly ceased. Febrile symptoms set in, and the head became affected. Although this change was met, and in a

world.' For a spirited and, upon the whole, correct portrait of Sir James, as a writer, a speaker, and a converser, we may refer also to a clever volume, "*The Spirit of the Age*." (8vo. 1825.)

great measure subdued, by the treatment prescribed by his medical attendants, the consequent debility was too great for his constitution to resist, already oppressed by the weight of sixty-six years. Sir James Mackintosh anticipated the near approach of his dissolution with the greatest firmness, and with the most perfect resignation to the Divine will; retaining, nearly to the last, the command of the powerful mental faculties which distinguished him through an arduous life. His decease took place on the 30th of May, 1832, at his house in Langham Place. He was buried on the 4th of June, at Hampstead. Among the carriages in the procession were those of the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Carlisle, Lords Holland and Dover, Right Hon. C. Grant, Sir Robert Inglis, Bart. M.P., &c.' pp. 125—6.

Many years ago, (it is even said, early in life,) Sir James had projected a great historical work on the affairs of England since the Revolution of 1788, for which he collected materials with much assiduity; but, after his return to Europe, his parliamentary duties conspired with the feeble state of his health, to prevent his making much progress in the execution of his design. The work of which the volume before us contains a valuable fragment, may be regarded as 'an expansion of the prefatory matter intended for his greater history.' The entire work was to have extended to eight volumes of the Cyclopædia; and he is stated to have left 'various manuscripts and memoranda relating to 'English history,' which have been purchased by the proprietors, and 'will be used as occasion shall require in the progress of 'the work.' Among these is 'a view of English affairs at the 'time of the Revolution,' which promises to be peculiarly valuable. We know not to whom the delicate task of continuing the history has been intrusted; but we should strongly recommend, that that portion of the history towards which Sir James's manuscripts will be found to supply no available materials, should be despatched with all convenient brevity, for two obvious reasons; first, because the work, as originally planned, is on a scale too large in proportion for the Cyclopædia itself, and secondly, because, if that scale is adhered to, Sir James's composition will form too small a proportion of this History. Perhaps another reason might be drawn from the character of that portion which he lived to execute: though richly instructive, it presents by no means a model for advantageous imitation by any inferior hand. The learned Author was better qualified to be a commentator upon history, than an historian. His comments and elucidations are admirable, and throw a strong light upon conspicuous points; but he does not excel in either graphic delineation or compressed and perspicuous narrative. His distinguished friend, Mr. Hall, is stated to have expressed in conversation, the opinion that, in attempting history, Mackintosh had mistaken the proper line of

his powers. The conversation alluded to, which took place in 1819 and 1823, has been preserved by the Rev. Robert Balmer, of Berwick upon Tweed, and is printed in the VIth volume of Mr. Hall's Works, just published. We shall transcribe the whole of what relates to the subject of the present sketch.

“ I know no man,” Mr. Hall said repeatedly and emphatically, “ equal to Sir James in talents. The powers of his mind are admirably balanced. He is defective only in imagination He has imagination too; but, with him, imagination is an acquisition, rather than a faculty. He has, however, plenty of embellishment at command; for his memory retains every thing. His mind is a spacious repository, hung round with beautiful images; and when he wants one, he has nothing to do but reach up his hand to a peg, and take it down. But his images were not manufactured in his mind; they were imported.”

B. “ If it be so defective in imagination, he must be incompetent to describe scenes and delineate characters vividly and graphically; and I should apprehend, therefore, he will not succeed in writing history.”

H. “ Sir, I do not expect him to produce an eloquent or interesting history. He has, I fear, mistaken his province. His genius is best adapted for metaphysical speculation. But, had he chosen moral philosophy, he would probably have surpassed every living writer.”

B. “ I admired exceedingly some of his philosophical papers in the Edinburgh Review; his articles, for instance, on Mde. de Stael's Germany, and on Dugald Stewart's Preliminary Dissertation; but there seemed to me a heaviness about them; and I do think that Mr. Jeffrey could expound a metaphysical theory with more vivacity and effect.” H. “ With more vivacity, perhaps, but not with equal judgement or acuteness. He would not go so deep, Sir. I am persuaded that if Sir James Mackintosh had enjoyed leisure, and had exerted himself, he would have completely outdone Jeffrey and Stewart, and all the metaphysical writers of our times.”

Mr. Hall's remarks upon Sir James's qualifications for historical writing, were made in anticipation of his great work, which was destined never to appear, and had no reference to the task which he was induced to undertake for Dr. Lardner's Cyclopædia. In these volumes, he was obliged to have more immediately in view the amusement of popular readers; but his style is by no means adapted to a popular work. It is rich, but often crowded with thought; obscure, not through any defect of perspicuity in the diction, but from the complexity arising from the number of accessory ideas *interlaced* with the primary one in the sentence or paragraph. The narrative is encumbered with the philosophy, like a silver stream half concealed by the rich vegetation it has nourished. He presents to us not the mere facts, but the reasons of the facts, never being satisfied without tracing the event to the cause; and thus, if not the most graphic of narrators, his work, so far as it goes, is the most instructive of historical manuals. Our readers will probably prefer to any further observations of

our own upon this subject, the following critique upon the first two volumes, from the pen of Mr. Campbell, the Poet.

“There is something, at the first view, unpleasant in conceiving a man like Mackintosh, with a mind whose deep speculations would require a good long life-time for ordinary men to study, sitting down to write a book for men of *little leisure*; but on closer examination of the subject, it will occur, that we scarcely recognise profound thinkers by a surer test, than that they save the bulk of men from the pain of elaborate thought. They simplify truth at a glance. Locke, Bacon, and Montesquieu afford abundant examples. That Mackintosh has done this in a certain and very considerable degree, in his *Manual of English History*, I do honestly believe; nor would I wish that the world had lost that *Manual* upon any terms, unless, perhaps, on the condition that he had finished his larger history. I pretend not, indeed, to come armed at all points, by that fresh and full research which the subject would require, to defend those two volumes against every objection which criticism, both oral and written, has brought against them. During their preparation, he had grown a veteran in fame; and, from the exaggerating tendency of the popular mind, he had to satisfy absurd anticipations. Among familiar facts, he was expected to introduce novelty,—among the ‘lying chronicles,’ he was expected to establish harmonious testimony,—and over ages of events, from Boadicea to Bacon, he was to expound every thing at once palpably to the school-boy, and profoundly to the philosopher. My own opinion, if it may be heard amidst the myriad buzz of criticism, is, that he has wonderfully solved the difficulty of making history at once amusing to the fancy, elevating to the understanding, and interesting to the heart. I scarcely know two volumes from which, considering their depth of thought, the simplest mind will be apt to carry off more instruction, nor from which the most instructed minds, if I may judge of such a mental class, would be likely, considering the manual and popular object of the work, to carry off more sound and pleasant impressions.

“As to the perfect correctness of the light in which he has exhibited every historical fact, I should exceed my commission, if I were to speak in more than general terms. The ἀνάματος πῦρ of inquisitive discernment seems, to my humble apprehension, always to accompany him in his path as an historian; but to prove, or to disprove, whether that light ever failed him in certain dark periods of English annals, would, for an opinion of any value, require to come from the most experienced English antiquary. It has been objected to him, that he has too frequently put faith in the authority of More, and in that of the chroniclers Hall and Grafton. Those men wrote, it is well known, as the ‘very indentured servants’ of the Tudor dynasty; and it has been pertinently asked, whether men, stating, by their own confession, that they wrote at the instance of his highness (Henry VIII.), should never omit a displeasing fact, never modify the appearance of an event? Assuredly, the supposition is inadmissible; but then, on the other hand, has Mackintosh really held up More, Grafton, and Hall as irrefragable authorities? Has he not rather sought to sift their truths

from their misrepresentations? And when the miner cannot find pure metal, can we blame him for putting crude ore into the smelting furnace? Supposing that in utter scepticism he had abandoned those writers, where else was he to seek for informants? And it would surely be rather a sweeping assertion to say, that they are always incredible.

“When I find him, therefore, in his manual of history, departing from certain historical opinions, which I know he once entertained, I am rather inclined to suspend my judgment on the matter altogether, than for a moment to suspect his latter and changed opinion to have been formed undeliberately. I remember, for instance, that he was once a Walpolite in his faith as to the numerous crimes of the third Richard. I had the pleasure of seeing that monarch personated by Kean, at Drury Lane theatre, in the company of Madame de Staël and my illustrious friend. Sir James spoke at great length on the exaggerations of Richard's traditional character, and I recollect our laughing heartily at what we then conceived to be a true hypothesis started by Walpole; namely, that the bones found in the Tower, and supposed to be those of one of the princes, were really the bones of an old ape who had escaped from the menagerie. Poor fellow! if it was so, how little had he thought, amidst his mops and mows, that he should ever be mistaken for a prince of the blood royal! But Sir James Mackintosh, in his history of that period, comes back again nearer to the Shakspearian idea of Richard's character; and the opinion, whether right or wrong, must have been at least well weighed before he uttered it.” *Ann. Biog.* pp. 122—24.

From the volume before us, we shall extract a few paragraphs, as specimens of the philosophical spirit, the enlightened sentiment, and the copious information which characterize the history.

“The acts by which the ecclesiastical revolution was accomplished, occupied the whole session of parliament, which continued from January to May Some documents purporting to be the speeches of the minority in parliament in these important debates are preserved. But they are considered as spurious or doubtful by the ecclesiastical historians of both parties. Those ascribed to Archbishop Heath, Bishop Scott, and Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, are summaries of the controversy on the Catholic side, and are not properly within the province of the civil historian. The speech of Lord Montague is more ingenious and seasonable; objecting to the severe penalties, and urging the ordinary arguments from the antiquity and universality of the Catholic Church, only as presumptions of the uncertainty of Protestantism, and as aggravations of the injustice of severely punishing adherents to a faith maintained for so many ages by their fathers.

“The true hinge of the dispute was not touched by either party. The question was, whether the legislature had a right to alter the established and endowed religion, on condition of respecting the estates for life vested by law in certain ecclesiastics. The Protestants as well as the Catholics converted the debate into a theological discussion, because they justified their measures by the truth of their own religious opinions. No one then saw, that the legislature could not, without

usurping authority over conscience, consider religion otherwise than as it affected the outward interests of society ; which alone were entrusted to their care, and submitted to their rule. Every other view of the subject, however arising from a wish to exalt religion, must in truth tend to degrade and enslave her.

‘ Of the only two important deviations in the new Book of Common Prayer from the liturgy of Edward VI., the first, consisting in the omission of a prayer to be delivered from the “tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities,” manifested a conciliatory temper towards the Roman Church ; and the second, instead of the Zwinglian language, which spoke of the sacrament as being only a remembrance of the death of Christ, substituted words indicating some sort of real presence of a body, though not affirming the presence to be corporeal ; coinciding with the phraseology of Calvin, which, if any meaning can be ascribed to the terms, might, it should seem, be used by Catholics, not indeed as adequately conveying their doctrine, but as containing nothing inconsistent with it.

* * * * *

‘ When Cecil and Bacon had finally succeeded in overcoming his (Parker’s) scruples, the consecration was delayed for some time, in order to take such precautions as might best secure its validity from being impugned. The Church of England then adopted, and has not yet renounced, the inconsistent and absurd opinion, that the Church of Rome, though idolatrous, is the only channel through which all lawful power of ordaining priests, of consecrating bishops, or validly performing any religious rite, flowed from Christ, through a succession of prelates, down to the latest age of the world. The ministers, therefore, first endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of the Catholic bishops in the consecration ; which those prelates, who must have considered such an act as a profanation, conscientiously refused. They were at length obliged to issue a new commission for consecrating Parker, directed to Kitchen of Llandaff, to Ball, an Irish bishop, to Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale, deprived in the reign of Mary, and to two suffragans. Whoever considers it important at present to examine this list, will perceive the perplexities in which the English Church was involved by a zeal to preserve unbroken the chain of Episcopal succession. On account of this frivolous advantage, that church was led to prefer the common enemy of all reformation to those Protestant communions which had boldly snapped asunder that brittle chain : a striking example of the evil that sometimes arises from the inconsistent respect paid by reformers to ancient establishments.

‘ Parker, who had been elected on the 1st of August, was finally consecrated on the 17th of December. Four new bishops were consecrated three days after the primate ; whose preferment, as they had been exiles for religion in the time of Mary, was a strong and irrevocable pledge of the queen’s early determination to stand or fall with the reformed faith. This politic, as well as generous elevation of faithful adherents and patient sufferers, did not prevent the wise ministers from a general choice which none of their antagonists ventured to impugn. For some time, many of the Roman Catholics, unskilled in theological disputes, continued to frequent their parish churches, regardless of the differences which were to steep Europe in blood.

' This unenquiring conformity appears not immediately to have yielded to the condemnation of it pronounced by the divines at Trent. The Anglican reformation was completed by the publication of the articles of religion, exhibiting the creed of that establishment, which, upon the whole, deserves commendation, in the only points where the authors could exercise any discretion ; for treating the ancient church with considerable approaches to decency, and for preferring quiet, piety, and benevolence to precision and consistency : not pressing those doctrines to their utmost logical consequences, which, by such a mode of inference, lead only to hatred, to blood, and often to a corruption of moral principle.

' A translation of the Scripture was published by authority, which, after passing through several emendations, became, in the succeeding reign, the basis of our present version. This was the work of translators not deeply versed in the opinions, languages, manners, and institutions of the ancient world, who were born before the existence of eastern learning in Europe, and whose education was completed before the mines of criticism had been opened, either as applied to the events of history, or to the reading, interpretation, and genuineness of ancient writings. On these accounts, as well as on account of the complete superannuation of some parts of its vocabulary, it undoubtedly requires revision and emendation. Such a task, however, should only be entrusted to hands skilful and tender, in the case of a translation which, to say nothing of the connection of its phraseology with the religious sensibilities of a people, forms the richest storehouse of the native beauties of our ancient tongue ; and by frequent yet reverential perusal has, more than any other cause, contributed to the permanency of our language, and thereby to the unity of our literature. In waving the higher considerations of various kinds which render caution, in such a case, indispensable, it is hard to overvalue the literary importance of daily infusions from the "well of English undefiled" into our familiar converse. Nor should it be forgotten, if ever the revision be undertaken, that we derive an advantage, not to be hazarded for tasteless novelties, from a perfect model of a translation of works of the most remote antiquity, into that somewhat antique English, venerable without being obscure, which alone can faithfully represent their spirit and genius.' pp. 12—18.

In addition to this history, its lamented Author contributed to Dr. Lardner's Biographical Series, a life of Sir Thomas More, given in vol. XXI., containing "Lives of eminent British Statesmen." In that volume, Sir James has finely discriminated the respective provinces of the historian and the biographer ; and he has almost led us to think, that he would have found the more scope, and the more congenial field of inquiry, in the latter department of literature.

Besides these works and those already enumerated, including his contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, the only work which he published is, the "General View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy," which forms the second preliminary dissertation prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Of this acute and masterly production, some account will be found in our Number for October, 1831. We then noticed, with regret, the flaw of error which, though not very obvious, runs like a vein through the beautiful formation of the Author's philosophy. In the article in the North American Review, already referred to, which comprises a critique upon the Dissertation, some deficiencies of another kind are pointed out. The most remarkable is the absence of any notice of the ethical theories of the modern Germans: the French writers are also passed over almost without notice; and the work, besides being incomplete, bears throughout the marks of hasty preparation. Yet, adds the Writer,

‘Notwithstanding these deficiencies, it will be read with deep interest by students of moral science, and by all who take an interest in the higher departments of intellectual research, or enjoy the beauties of elegant language applied to the illustration of “divine philosophy.” It gives us, on an important branch of the most important of the sciences, the reflections of one of the few master minds that are fitted by original capacity and patient study to probe it to the bottom. It is highly interesting, whether we agree with him or not, to know the opinions of such a man, upon the character of the principal ethical writers, and upon the leading principles of the science. These opinions are exhibited with every advantage of language and manner. It is difficult to imagine how the union of power, dignity, and grace, which may be supposed to constitute a finished style, can be carried further than it is in the writings of Sir James Mackintosh. The moral tone is also of the purest and most agreeable kind. The work breathes throughout, a temperate enthusiasm in the cause of humanity, and a spirit of perfect toleration for opposite opinions, even of an exceptionable cast . . . He enlarges with an overflowing fullness of heart, we may say, even to exaggeration, upon the merits of contemporaries. Under the influence of this generous and amiable impulse, he has probably over-rated the deserts of Bentham, Brown, and Stewart. But how much more noble is an error of this kind, than the petty jealousy which can see nothing in living excellence of any kind, but an object of attack; as the wasp approaches the fairest fruits, only for the purpose of piercing them to the core! It is indeed refreshing and delightful, to find one of the most powerful minds of the age, uniting the best feelings with the highest gifts of intellect, and exemplifying in his own person the moral graces which he undertakes to teach.’

We transcribe with pleasure this encomium, honourable both to its subject and to the writer, and substantially just. A slight abatement, perhaps, from the unqualified commendation of Sir James's style, might be made in respect to an occasional want of perspicuity and finished accuracy. Nor should we agree with the Reviewer, in ranking among the excellencies of an ethical writer, the ‘toleration of exceptionable *opinions*,’ which is, assuredly, no proof of benevolence, whatever candour and charity may be due to the intentions and persons of those who differ from us on ‘vital questions.’ The distinction, one might think, is obvious

enough; yet, how repeatedly are laxity of opinion or latitudinarianism of creed, and kindness of heart confounded! *

Although Sir James possessed so great aptitude for literary composition, the intellectual exercise in which he most delighted, and in which his fine powers and varied acquisitions were exhibited with most satisfaction to himself and most gratification to others, was, conversation. 'The companion of all the most distinguished men of his own time, Sheridan, Parr, Burke, Romilly; as intimately acquainted with all the great men of antiquity; with a mind replete with ancient lore and modern anecdote; equally ready on all subjects, philosophy, history, politics, personal narrative; eloquent without pomposity, learned without pedantry, gay, and even witty, without affectation; there never was a man possessed of more advantages for colloquial intercourse.' Of these fascinating displays of his moral qualities and intellectual powers, few traces, we fear, survive, except in the recollections of his friends; but some of his remarks, taken down at the time (in 1817), have been preserved by his American visiter, who was much struck with the copiousness, elegance, originality, and point of his conversation. As the journal in which they appear, is probably seen by few of our readers, we shall make room for the

* We cannot refrain from observing, that the article from which we have cited this panegyric on Sir James Mackintosh, contains one of the most flagrant instances that we have ever met with, of that spurious tolerance which levels all creeds, places the essence of virtue in the intellect, and enthrones mind upon the ruins of every religious principle. The frigid, cheerless *if*, with which the following sentence opens, borrowed from a pagan historian, and worthy of the negative creed of a disciple of Priestley, is a fit introduction to the impiety with which it closes, and to the prostitution of language which would seem to make a blind, sinful, erring man 'the image of the invisible God.' 'If there be,—as we all believe and hope,—another and a better world, where the wise and good repose together from the troubles of this, we cannot doubt that Mackintosh is now among its favoured tenants,—enjoying the communion of the high and gifted minds whom he always so much loved and admired, the Platos, the Stewarts, the Burkes, the Ciceros,—and dwelling in the nearer presence of that sublime Spirit, whose ineffable glories he has so eloquently though faintly shadowed forth in so many splendid passages of his writings.' It is but too evident, that "to be with Christ", forms no element of this Writer's joyful anticipations of the heavenly society. Alas! that, in the city of the Pilgrims, such sentiments as these should pass for the eloquence of piety. The '*Si quis piorum manibus locus,—si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnæ animæ*'—of the classic Roman, affects us not more by its beauty, than by its approximation to Christian sentiment. In the American writer, the case is reversed: we are startled at the approximation to heathenism.

whole, without any apprehension that they will complain of the length to which it will extend this article.

“ Shakspeare, Milton, Locke, and Newton, are four names beyond competition superior to any that the continent can put against them.—It was a proof of singular and very graceful modesty in Gray, that, after bestowing upon Shakspeare a high eulogium in the *Progress of Poetry*, he did not, when proceeding to the character of Milton, rashly decide upon their relative merit. Every half-read critic affirms at once, according to his peculiar taste or the caprice of the moment, that one or the other is the superior poet; but when Gray comes to Milton, he only says,—

“ Nor second he that rode sublime
Upon the seraph wings of ecstasy.”

“ Dryden he assigns to an inferior class:—

“ Behold where Dryden’s less presumptuous car,
Wide o’er the fields of glory bear
Two coursers of inferior race,” &c.’

“ The writer observed, that the German critics call Dryden a man walking upon stilts in a marsh.—*Sir James*:—“ Depend upon it, they do not understand the language.—Shakspeare’s great superiority over other writers consists in his deep knowledge of human nature. Châteaubriand says of him, ‘ *Il a souvent des mots terribles.*’ It has been thought by some, that those observations upon human nature which appear so profound and remarkable, may, after all, lie nearest to the surface, and be taken up most naturally by the early writers in every language; but we do not find them in Homer. Homer is the finest ballad-writer in any language. The flow and fullness of his style is beautiful; but he has nothing of the deep, piercing observation of Shakspeare.”

“ The writer mentioned that he had been at St. Paul’s, and spoke of the statues of Johnson, Sir William Jones, and others that he had seen there. *Sir James*:—“ It is a noble edifice, to be sure, and we have some great men there; but it would be too much to expect that the glory of the second temple should equal that of the first. One country is not sufficient for two such repositories as Westminster Abbey.—Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* has given a wrong impression of him in some respects. When we see four large volumes written upon a man’s conversation, through a period of forty years, and his remarks alone set down, of all those made at the time, we naturally take the idea that Johnson was the central point of society for all that period. The truth is, he never was in good society; at least, in those circles where men of letters mix with the fashionable world. His brutal, intolerant manners excluded him from it, of course. He met good society, to be sure, at the Literary Club and at Sir Joshua Reynolds’s.—Gibbon was asked why he did not talk more in the presence of Dr. Johnson. ‘Sir,’ replied the historian, taking a pinch of snuff, ‘I have no pretensions to the ability of contending with Dr. Johnson in brutality and insolence.’”

“ Sir William Jones was not a man of first-rate talent;—he had great

facility of acquisition, but not a mind of the highest order. Reason and imagination are the two great intellectual faculties, and he was certainly not pre-eminent in either. His poetry is indifferent, and his other writings are agreeable, but not profound. He was, however, a most amiable and excellent man."

'Speaking of the poets of the day, Sir James observed:—"I very much doubt whether Scott will survive long. Hitherto, nothing has stood the test of time, but laboured and finished verse; and of this, Scott has none. If I were to say which of the poets of the day is most likely to be read hereafter, I should give my opinion in favour of some of Campbell's poems. Scott, however, has a wonderful fertility and vivacity." It may be proper to add, that the allusion is here exclusively to the poetry of Scott. The Waverley novels were not generally attributed to him at the time when the remark was made.

"Rogers's Pleasures of Memory has one good line,—

'The only pleasures we can call our own.'

It is remarkable that this poem is very popular. A new edition of it is printed every year. It brings the author in about 200*l.* per annum, and yet its principal merit is its finished, perfect versification, which one would think the people could hardly enjoy. The subject, however, recommends itself very much to all classes of readers."

'The writer commended highly the language of Sir William Scott's opinions. *Sir James*:—"There is a little too much elegance for judicial dicta, and a little unfairness in always attempting to found the judgement upon the circumstances of the case, perhaps slight ones, rather than general principles. Sir William is one of the most entertaining men to be met with in society. His style is by no means so pure and classical as that of Blackstone, which is one of the finest models in the English language. Middleton and he are the two best, in their way, of the writers of their period. Middleton's Free Inquiry is an instance of great prudence and moderation in drawing conclusions respecting particular facts from general principles. His premises would have carried him much further than he has gone. There are many fine passages in his Life of Cicero."

'Sir James said, that he had received from Mr. Wortman a collection of specimens of American eloquence, and that Mr. Wortman had given it as his opinion, that the faculty of eloquence was more general in America than in England, though some individual Englishmen might perhaps possess it in a higher degree. The writer remarked, that he thought our best orators but little inferior to the best orators of the present day in England; and mentioned Mr. Otis, Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Pinkney. *Sir James*:—"I have not seen any of Mr. Otis's speeches. I have read some of Randolph's, but the effect must depend very much on the manner. There is a good deal of vulgar finery. Malice there is, too, but that would be excusable, provided it were in good taste.—

"Mr. Adams's Defence of the Constitution is not a first-rate work. He lays too much stress upon the examples of small and insignificant States, and looks too much at the external form of governments, which is, in general, a very indifferent criterion of their character.

His fundamental principle of securing government, by a balance of power between two houses and an executive, does not strike me as very just or important. It is a mere puerility to suppose that three branches, and no more nor less, are essential to political salvation. In this country, where there are nominally three branches, the real sovereignty resides in the House of Commons. Two branches are no doubt expedient, as far as they induce deliberation and mature judgement on the measures proposed."

'The writer mentioned Mr. Adams's opinion, (as expressed in a letter to Dr. Price,) that the French Revolution failed because the legislative body consisted of one branch, and not two. *Sir James*:—"That circumstance may have precipitated matters a little, but the degraded situation of the *Tiers Etat* was the principal cause of the failure. The entire separation in society between the *noblesse* and the professions, destroyed the respectability of the latter, and deprived them in a great degree of popular confidence. In England, eminent and successful professional men rise to an equality in importance and rank with the first nobles, take by much the larger share in the government, and bring with them to it the confidence of the people. This will for ever prevent any popular revolution in the country.—The *Federalist* is a well written work.—

"The remarkable private morality of the New England States, is worth attention, especially when taken in connexion with the very moral character of the poorer people in Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland. It is rather singular, that all these countries, which are more moral than any others, are precisely those in which *Calvinism* is predominant," The writer mentioned, that Boston and Cambridge had in a great measure abandoned Calvinism. *Sir James*:—"I am rather surprised at that; but the same thing has happened in other places similarly situated. Boston, Geneva, and Edinburgh might once have been considered as the three high places of Calvinism, and the enemy is now, it seems, in full possession of them all. The fact appears to be a consequence of the principle of reaction, which operates as universally in the moral as in the physical world.—Jonathan Edwards was a man of great merit. His *Treatise on the Will* is a most profound and acute disquisition. The English Calvinists have produced nothing to be put in competition with it. He was one of the greatest men who have owned the authority of Calvin, and there have been a great many. Calvin himself had a very strong and acute mind.—Sir Henry Vane was one of the most profound minds that ever existed; not inferior, perhaps, to Bacon. Milton has a fine sonnet addressed to him,—

"Vane, young in years, in sage experience old."

His works, which are theological, are extremely rare, and display astonishing powers. They are remarkable as containing the first direct assertion of the liberty of conscience. He was put to death in a most perfidious manner. I am proud, as a friend of liberty, and as an Englishman, of the men that resisted the tyranny of Charles I. Even when they went to excess, and put to death the king, they did it in a much more decorous manner than their imitators in France. Thomson says of them, with great justice, in his florid way,—

"First at thy call, her age of men effulged," &c.

“Eloquence is the power of gaining your purpose by words. All the laboured definitions of it to be found in the different rhetorical works, amount in substance to this. It does not, therefore, require or admit the strained and false ornaments that are taken for it by some. I hate these artificial flowers without fragrance or fitness. Nobody ever succeeded in this way but Burke. Fox used to say: ‘I cannot bear this thing in any body but Burke, and he cannot help it. It is his natural manner.’—Sir Francis Burdett is one of the best of our speakers, take him altogether, voice, figure and manner. His voice is the best that can be imagined. As to his matter, he certainly speaks above his mind. He is not a man of very superior talents, though respectable.—Plunkett, if he had come earlier into parliament, so as to have learned the trade, would probably have excelled all our orators. He and counsellor Phillips (or O’Garnish, as he is nicknamed here,) are at the opposite points of the scale. O’Garnish’s style is pitiful to the last degree. He ought by common consent to be driven from the bar.—Mr. Wilberforce’s voice is beautiful; his manner mild and perfectly natural. He has no artificial ornament; but an easy, natural image occasionally springs up in his mind, that pleases very much.—Cicero’s orations are a good deal in the flowery, artificial manner, though the best specimens in their way. We tire in reading them. Cicero, though a much greater man than Demosthenes, take him altogether, was inferior to him as an orator. To be the second orator the world has produced, is, however, praise enough.—Pascal was a prodigy. His *Pensées* are wonderfully profound and acute. Though predicated on his peculiar way of thinking, they are not on that account to be condemned. I dislike the illiberality of some of my liberal friends, who will not allow any merit to any thing that does not agree with their own point of view. Making allowance for Pascal’s way of looking at things, and expressing himself, his ideas are prodigiously deep and correct.—Most of the apparent absurdities in theology and metaphysics are important truths, exaggerated and disfigured by an incorrect manner of understanding or expressing them; as, for instance, the doctrines of transubstantiation and of total depravity.—Jacob Bryant was a miserable writer, though, for particular purposes, it was thought expedient at one time to sustain his reputation. He was guilty of a gross absurdity in attempting such a work as his principal one without any oriental learning, which he did not even profess. Yet Sir William Jones called him the principal writer of his time. This opinion quite takes away the value of Sir William’s critical judgement.”

The American booksellers have announced for publication, a selection from the works of this highly gifted man; and a hope is expressed, in which every reader will cordially participate, that measures will be immediately taken in this country, ‘for collecting ‘the whole of his works, acknowledged or anonymous, with such ‘of his manuscripts as are in a state for publication, and as large ‘an amount of his correspondence as can be produced.’ We want, to use Sir James’s own expression, no ‘huge narrative of a ‘life’ in which there were few events,—a sort of literary funeral which he justly stigmatised as ‘a tasteless parade’,—but a well edited collection of his writings and remains, with a prefatory

memoir and such notes as may be requisite. We know not whether a work of this description is in preparation: it is due alike to the public and to the memory of the Author; and the pen of Mr. Jeffrey or Mr. Macauley could surely be commanded for this tribute of private friendship and public veneration. '*Non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quæ marmore, aut ære finguntur: sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultûs imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis æterna.*'

Art. II.—*The Biblical Cabinet; or Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library.* Vol. II. containing a Collection of Philological Tracts on the New Testament. Edited by John Brown, D.D. 12mo. pp. xiv. and 309. Edinburgh, 1830.

OUR pages have often shewn that we participate not in the faith or the fears (rather, might we say, the wishes) of those would-be prophets whose opinions have of late outraged theology, and disgraced the profession of religion, and whose forebodings are those of judgement, desolation, and ruin to the nations of the earth, and especially to the Christian Church. Amidst the darkness and the mysteries of providence, our firm faith is, that God is carrying on the great plan of his gospel, a universal melioration of mankind. In the sciences and the beneficent arts, in the external relations and the internal government of states, in moral principles and in religious activity, we see, on every side, awakenings, strivings, exertions, and success, at the very idea of which, or even but a small part of them, Bacon and Milton, Usher and Wilkins, Baxter and Howe, would have leaped for joy. The publication before us, in its external form as remarkably neat as its contents are richly useful, is a striking confirmation of our cheering position. True theology can rest only upon the impartial interpretation and the genuine sense of the Scriptures. This is an assertion which, in theory at least, every Protestant is ready to maintain: but honest practice according to this principle has not been so well established in any community of Christians, as the reason of the case and the consistency of profession would lead us to expect. At the Reformation, a glorious beginning was made, and bright examples were given. The true principles of interpretation, and their application to the Holy Writings, were grasped and boldly professed by Luther's master mind; and more completely still by our countryman, the martyr Tyndal, by Zuinglius, by Bucer, and, pre-eminently, by CALVIN. The religious public are by no means sufficiently acquainted with the merit of that great man as a Bible Interpreter. In taking up and using the proper instruments of grammatical explication, in the finest perception of results, in

spurning arbitrary and fanciful imputations of meaning, in shewing himself free alike from the bondage of undue reverence for human authority, and from the allurements of plausible novelty, Calvin was above his contemporaries, and still further above his successors. Indeed, upon the latter, for several generations, his example seems to have been lost. For more than two centuries, just views and undeviating practice in the art of eliciting *the true sense* of the Divine word, seem to have gone lamentably backward. We may quote a single paragraph, which will at once furnish a specimen of Calvin's exegetical principles, and a proof of the defective attention which has been paid to them by many wise and good men in following time. It is from the conclusion of his Commentary on the Parable of the Good Samaritan.

'Neither is there any sufficient evidence for another allegorical application, which has however been found so generally agreeable, that it has been almost universally received, even with a reverence due only to a revelation from heaven. Certain persons have entertained the fancy, that, by this Samaritan, Christ is represented, because he is our Deliverer. They have represented the application of oil and wine, as signifying the healing work of Christ, by repentance and the promises of grace. They have also invented a third secret, namely, that Christ does not restore converted souls to spiritual health all at once; but that he commits them to the care of the Church, as the benevolent Samaritan to the host of the inn, that they may be properly attended to, and in due time restored to health. All this, I confess, is very pretty: but it is our duty to maintain a greater reverence for the Scriptures, than that we should take leave thus to disguise their true and natural sense.'

Because the endeavour to ascertain, by plain grammatical means, the simple and only sense of Scripture, has been often professed by men unfriendly to the essential truths of Revelation, or whose writings indicate no sense of vital and practical religion, a prejudice and a dread have been produced against those principles of interpretation, in many excellent minds. This feeling has been strengthened by the fact, that some of the German Bible-critics, whose works furnish important aid to the study which we are anxious to recommend, have been, or are, anti-supernaturalists, that is, scarcely disguised infidels. But this is a melancholy and distressing fact, chiefly on account of those unbelievers themselves. The principles and rules which they lay down, as critics and philologists, are sound; and those writers have indeed rendered good service to the cause of Christian truth, by their frequently establishing, as a matter of historical fact, that the doctrines asserted or implied in the New Testament, are the very sentiments which form the leading principles of the Evangelical or Orthodox system; while those

unhappy persons do not defer to the authority of the New Testament as a positive revelation from God. Thus, in many important instances, truth is elicited or confirmed by not merely the concessions, but the elaborated and decided declarations of its adversaries. The whole case, also, goes to confirm, instead of weakening, the momentous fact, that learning, talent, and exegetical skill, will not qualify a man to discern the beauty and feel the power of heavenly doctrine, unless his mind is imbued with the spirit of humble piety and practical holiness.

But let it not be thought, that the baptized infidels of the German universities are the only men of high attainments, unsparing diligence, and admirable skill, in sacred philology. Far, very far, is this from being the fact. In the darkest period of the apostatizing mania of Germany and other parts of the Continent, there were always some men of intellectual and literary power equal to that of the Neologistic party, who were the firm friends of pure faith and unfeigned piety. Within fifteen years, and still more within the last five, there has been a gratifying increase in the number and in the public activity of such accomplished scholars, endowed with fine talents of understanding and reasoning, and who are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, knowing it to be the power of God unto salvation. We may mention, premising that this is by no means a complete enumeration, Bengel (the son of the excellent man of that name in the last century), Harms, the Tittmanns (father and son, both dead), Orelli, Planck, Lücke, Schott, Strauss, Scheibel, Geibel of Lübeck, Flatt, Neander, Twesten, Theremin, Tholuck, Guericke, Hahn, Hossbach, Olshausen, Grundtvigt, Pelt, and Steiger; this last a young man of wondrous promise, known to great advantage by his Refutation of Wegscheider's *Institutiones* and his Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter, and who has last year removed from Berlin, to be one of the Professors of Exegetical Theology in the new Theological Academy at Geneva.

It has afforded us great pleasure to learn, that some of the ministers in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood, both of the Established and the Dissenting denominations, including also the Episcopalian, have formed a kind of association for the translating and publishing, in an elegant and uniform manner, the most valuable of the smaller works of the German sacred critics, chiefly those of recent production. The First Volume, which has not yet fallen into our hands, contains a part, we presume about one half, of Ernesti's *Institutiones*, or "Principles of Interpretation of the New Testament; with copious Annotations, by the Rev. C. H. Terrot, A.M. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge." This is the work of which a translation was published in 1824 by the American Professor Stuart; with many elucidations and notes, partly selected from the *Acroases* of

Morus and the works on Scripture-Interpretation of Seiler, Keil, and Beck, partly from the pen of Mr. Stuart himself, and partly, (in a London republication of 1827,) from that of the English editor, Dr. Ebenezer Henderson. For the reason just mentioned, we are unable to form any estimate of Mr. Terrot's translation, as compared with Mr. Stuart's. There is abundant room for a useful diversity of plan and topics, in whatever illustrations Mr. Terrot has added, or may propose for the remaining part, which is announced to form a future volume of the "*Biblical Cabinet*." We have been informed, that his plan is to include all the Notes of Von Ammon, with subjoined observations of his own, for which he will find no small reason. The Editor of this interesting collection, which will be as valuable for its internal excellence as it is beautiful in its external form and its typography, is Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh; a minister beloved and revered for his own attainments, talents, and personal religion, as well as for the hereditary representation of his devoted father and his grandfather; the holy and indefatigable divine of Haddington.

*'Sensere quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
Posset; quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Neronis.
Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis.'*

The Treatises contained in the present volume, and now first given in an English dress, are:

I. Pfannkuche on the Vernacular Language of Palestine, in the Age of Christ and the Apostles; translated by T. G. Repp. This was originally published, more than thirty years ago, in Eichhorn's "*Universal Library of Biblical Literature*." The student will not have satisfied himself on this subject, without attentively considering the arguments advanced by Hug in his "*Introduction to the New Testament*," (Vol. II. Sect. X.,) with a view to prove that *Greek* was so commonly spoken in the cities of Palestine, during the period under consideration, that it was nearly, if not quite, of coequal currency with the Aramaic; that this was the proximate reason why the New Testament was written in Greek; that the original of St. Matthew's Gospel is the Greek which we possess; and that the discourses of our Lord were very often delivered by him in Greek. It should also not be forgotten that a similar set of positions was maintained by the late Dr. John Jones, a man whom we cannot remember without respect and sorrow, and who, with all his eccentricities and unhappinesses, frequently manifested great sagacity on philological questions. The Section of Hug, to which we have referred, is republished from Dr. Wait's translation, very much improved, in No. IV. of Professor Robinson's "*Biblical Repository*;" a

work which is an honour to America, such as may well make the mother-country feel ashamed and humbled.

II. Planck on the True Nature and Genius of the Diction of the New Testament; translated by A. S. Patterson, who is, if we mistake not, a nephew of Dr. Brown.

III. Hints on the importance of the study of the Old Testament; by Dr. Tholuck; translated by R. B. Patton. Every thing of Tholuck's is interesting and instructive. He is a man of exquisite learning, classical, biblical, and oriental: of powerful mind, of that genius and poetical tact without which no man is qualified to enter into the spirit of the sublimest parts of the Bible; and, above all, a man of warm and vital piety. The Editor and his associates will confer a distinguished value upon the Biblical Cabinet, by bringing into it as much as they may be able of Tholuck's various productions, both his separate works and the chief papers in his (*Anzeiger, &c.*) "*Literary Indicator for Christian Theology and Science in general*,"—a periodical work which he publishes every five days.

IV. Remarks on the Interpretation of the Tropical Language of the New Testament, by Dr. Beckhaus; translated by Mr. Perrot. This is a very useful and indeed necessary appendage to Ernesti's chapter on Tropical Language.

Our wishes are justly called forth, and our recommendation is cordially given, that this new contribution to the science of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation may be received by the public *as it deserves*; and that will be, with warm approbation and extensive support.

We are happy to see announced, for early publication in a subsequent volume, the inestimable work of the younger Tittmann, (who died December 30, 1831, at the age of 57,) on "*The Synonyms of the New Testament*;" translated by the Rev. Edward Craig, one of the Ministers of the Episcopal Church in Edinburgh. We assure ourselves that the small but important Supplement, published since the Author's death, will not be omitted. Brief editorial notices of the lives and writings of the authors brought forward, would be a welcome addition to the plan of the "*Biblical Cabinet*."

Art. III. *An Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians.*

By the Right Rev. John Davenant, D.D. Lord Bishop of Salisbury; President of Queen's College, and Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in Cambridge: originally delivered, in a series of Lectures, before the University. Translated from the Original Latin; with a Life of the Author, and Notes illustrative of the Writers and Authorities referred to in the Work. By Josiah Allport, Minister of St. James's, Birmingham. To the whole is

added, a Translation of *Dissertatio De Morte Christi*, by the same Prelate. In 2 vols. 8vo. pp. lxiv. 1148. Price 1*l.* 8*s.* London, 1832.

WE apprehend that comparatively few of our readers know much of Bishop Davenant. Few, perhaps, are more than slightly acquainted with his history; and fewer still may have looked into his writings. A short sketch of the one, and some brief account of the other, may, therefore, be an acceptable as well as appropriate introduction to the remarks we intend to offer on those works which are included in the present publication, as well as on the manner in which his present Biographer and Translator has achieved his task.

Bishop Davenant belonged to the third generation of English prelates from the Reformation: he was, ecclesiastically speaking, amongst the grandchildren of the Reformers. He may justly be ranked, therefore, though not amongst the fathers of the English Church, yet, amongst her most venerable names. He was born in 1572, in Watling Street, London. His family boasted of not only an ancient, but a highly respectable pedigree. His father was an eminent merchant. Of his earlier years little is known, except that he even then gave indications of that candour, frankness, and integrity which afterwards so highly distinguished him. In 1587, when no more than fifteen, he was admitted of Queen's College, Cambridge; and he took his degree of A.M. in 1594. In the same year, he was offered a fellowship; but his father, nobly unwilling that his son should appropriate the public revenues of literature while an expectant of a large fortune, would not permit him to accept it. Long afterwards, when president of the college, Davenant had the magnanimity to follow his father's example. He voted against one of his cousin's receiving a fellowship, softening his opposition by saying, "Cousin, I will shew your father that you have *worth*, but not *wants* enough to belong to our Society." In 1597, however, he was himself elected fellow against his will. In 1601, he obtained the degree of B.D.; in 1609, that of D.D.; and at the same time was elected, against *seven* competitors, Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. At the same time, Archbishop Abbot presented him with the rectory of Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire. In those public disputations which, in conformity with the spirit of the age, then took place, Davenant was more than once chosen moderator; an honour which was at once a testimony to his learning and a compliment to his temper. In 1614, he was chosen president of his College. Four years afterwards, he was appointed by James I. one of the representatives of the Church of England at the celebrated Synod of Dort. Four others were associated with him; George Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff; Hall, then Dean of Worcester; S. Ward, Master of Sydney College,

Cambridge; and Walter Balcanqual, a presbyter of the Scottish Church.

Into the history of this Council, it would be irrelevant to our present purpose to enter. It is but justice, however, to the Editor and Translator of these works of Davenant, to remark, that, in the biographical account of the Prelate's life which he has prefixed to them, the reader will find a short history of the Synod of Dort, written with great clearness, ability, and moderation. Though himself a Calvinist, Mr. Allport does not hesitate to denounce both the constitution of the Council and the manner in which its proceedings were conducted. The Remonstrants (that is, as our readers are aware, the *Arminian* party) were summoned, he justly remarks, 'not to be heard, but to be condemned; and this was scarcely attempted to be concealed.' The Council consisted of those alone whose views were 'well known.' The Council was, in fact, a packed jury, who had already prejudged the cause, and resolved upon their decision. While admitting with exemplary candour the overbearing and unjust character of the Synod of Dort, the Editor has, at the same time, volunteered an able vindication of its proceedings from those calumnious attacks which have repeatedly been made by its theological adversaries. The arbitrary and unfair constitution of the assembly, both facilitated and provoked misrepresentation and slander. Some of these malignant aspersions, Mr. Allport traces with great acuteness to their source; and he exposes the uncandid manner in which the enemies of Calvinism have reiterated them, either in a criminal defiance of known truth or in a scarcely less criminal neglect of the means of ascertaining what was the truth. They have for the most part originated in a wilfully mutilated copy of the decrees of the Council, purporting to be above all things a '*favourable* abridgement' of them, published by a Remonstrant named Daniel Tilenus, who took this dishonest mode of avenging his own and his party's wrongs. Our readers will find some very curious statements on this subject at pp. xviii., xix., xx., of the "*Life*";—statements highly illustrative of the dishonesty of theological animosity, of the blind eagerness with which men take up whatsoever makes for their own cause, and of the reluctance with which they surrender it. They also place in a very fair light, the honesty, impartiality, and diligence of the Editor.

Of Davenant's conduct at Dort, suffice it to say, that he and his colleagues displayed so much ability, learning, and temper, that they greatly facilitated the proceedings of the council, and received the thanks of its members at its termination. Throughout the whole of its discussions, they manifested a jealous regard to the interests of the Church of England, and stubbornly refused to give even an apparent assent to any thing which seemed to

contravene her doctrines or her discipline. So far did they carry this, that, in many instances, there was great reason to fear that their pertinacity would lead to their suddenly withdrawing themselves from the council altogether. But such was the respect in which they were held, that strenuous efforts were uniformly made to accommodate differences, and always with success.

Yet, notwithstanding this scrupulous, and, in our opinion, sometimes ludicrous vigilance, they were, when they returned home, accused by some enemies to Calvinism, of having compromised the dignity of the Church of England! Their reply was, of course, abundantly triumphant.

In 1621, Davenant was nominated to the see of Salisbury. His consecration was delayed, as well as that of some other bishops-elect, by an unhappy accident which happened to Archbishop Abbot.

‘As he was using a cross-bow in Lord Zouch’s park, he accidentally shot the keeper. Four Bishops-elect were then waiting for consecration. Of these, Williams, elect of Lincoln, who, as Heylin says, had an eye to the Primacy in case it had been declared vacant; and Laud, elect of St. David’s, who had a personal hatred to Abbot; stated an insuperable aversion to being consecrated by a man whose hands were stained with blood. Davenant did not join in this unworthy cavil; but kept altogether aloof, lest he should be thought to act from private feelings of obligation to the afflicted Primate: but despising the groundless objection of those who, from motives of personal pique and ambition, were willing to give up their own high views of the indelibility of the Episcopal character, and act upon the principle that it became vitiated and abortive in its operations, by an accident which, as the King justly remarked, might have happened to an angel. The rest, however, made so much of their scruples, that a commission was at length granted to the Bishop of London and four others, to discharge the Archiepiscopal function in this case: and by these, Williams was consecrated on Nov. 11; and Davenant, Laud, and Cary of Exeter, on Nov. 18.’ Vol. I. pp. xxxi—xxxii.

This was exactly like Laud; a man who knew as well as any frivolous ceremonialist who ever lived, how to strain out a gnat and swallow a camel, and who knew too how to make all his scrupulosity subserve the purposes of his ambition.

In this dignified situation, Davenant, it is universally admitted, conducted himself with singular discretion, blamelessness, and integrity. Of this, his Biographer remarks, it would not be easy to find a testimony stronger than that of the Lord Keeper Williams, who, upon resigning the Great Seal, and retiring to the more congenial duties of the see of Lincoln, avowedly adopted Davenant as his model. For several very interesting anecdotes, strongly characteristic of the elevated principle and purity of character which distinguished him, we refer our readers to Mr. Allport’s memoir. Davenant died in 1641, at the age of 71.

It was the misfortune of Davenant, to outlive the attachment of the bulk of the clergy of the Church of England to its early Calvinism; the Calvinism of its founders, and which still survives in the Articles of that church. The venerable Prelate even fell under the displeasure of the King for venturing to preach on the *forbidden* subject of predestination. Charles, by the advice of Laud, had enjoined that all '*curious search*' on that subject should be abandoned. By the bye, we are truly glad to find that, on all occasions, Mr. Allport speaks of the conduct of that tyrannical and narrow-minded bigot in terms of the strongest reprobation.

The works of Davenant make about two volumes folio. Compared with some of his contemporaries, he was far from a voluminous writer; nay, he might be almost considered as a mere *pamphleteer*; albeit in our degenerate times, folio volumes appear formidable things. His compositions were for the most part in Latin; and in the revision and publication of them, he employed almost all the leisure which the arduous duties of his episcopate afforded him. They are all theological, and most of them controversial. The most important is the Exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians, which occupies the principal part of the present volumes. None can look into them without being convinced, that the author was a man of very acute powers of reasoning, and of various and profound erudition. He was, in fact, one of that race of men—a race, by the bye, which a little more than a century extinguished—who combined the curious and profound learning of the schoolmen, and a perfect mastery of all the subtilties of the scholastic logic, with much of that spirit of free inquiry which the Reformation necessarily originated and fostered; and who therefore escaped the timid and narrow spirit which had previously spell-bound the faculties of men. On the other hand, he did not live so long after that great event, as not to have received the full impress of the ancient system of education and intellectual discipline. All his mental habits were formed under the influence of the school-logic and school-metaphysics. Thus, nothing is more common than to see the Protestants of that age defeating Rome with her own weapons; calling into question all her doctrines, but retaining all those ingenious modes of assault and battery which had been devised and perfected in the cloister. Nor is the scholastic logic and metaphysics, merely considered as a system of intellectual discipline, by any means to be despised. The mischief was, that, instead of being used solely, or principally, as an exercise of the reasoning powers, or used as a *test* to examine the validity of any train of reasoning, it was substituted for every other mode of mental discipline;—nay, and as the great, the only instrument for the discovery of truth. We need not wonder that, thus abused, it was a source of far greater

evils than advantages. In its appropriate sphere, however, it tended more than any other system, to improve the powers of the mind upon which it was particularly adapted to operate. It is true, that it often disguised what was obvious, and mystified what was simple; that it often engendered a love of eternal and universal disputation; that it delighted in making subtile distinctions, when there were no real differences; that it often wasted scores of pages in the most idle logomachy. It is true also, that its incessant iteration of the phraseology and the forms of logic, gave to the books of its votaries an unutterably repulsive appearance; generally sufficient to overcome the most valiant resolutions of the doughtiest student of modern times. This last defect, indeed,—this needless, pertinacious obtrusion of all the barbarous technicalities of the scholastic logic and metaphysics, when, in many cases, not only is there no necessity for explication, but nothing except such explication needs to be explained,—is frequently perfectly gratuitous, and therefore the more vexatious. Still, in spite of all this, the perpetual conversance with these logical and metaphysical subtilties engendered a power of patient abstraction, and an acuteness of reasoning, seldom witnessed in modern times. Many of the schoolmen were no children.

In the "life" of his author, Mr. Allport gives from Bishop Hacket's life of Williams, an amusing description of those chivalrous disputations in which the heroic divines of England exercised their faculties and their logical weapons for the battle-fields of mightiest controversies. Not Froissart himself could describe some valiant passage of arms, or the achievement of some splendid tournament, with greater enthusiasm than that with which the worthy Bishop records the mighty shock of syllogisms. Nay, these disputations were often *got up* for the express amusement—not to say edification—of some learned Queen Bess or some theological King Jamie, just as tournaments and games of chivalry had been the royal pastimes of a preceding age, and in some measure even of that of which we speak. The reader, therefore, needs not wonder that, when beauty or power rained down its influences on the doughty champions, and added the fire of emulation to that of valour, the combatant often "fell to it", as Bishop Hacket says, "with all quickness and pertinency." The whole passage is so entertaining that we must gratify our readers by transcribing it.

* It is amusing to hear the *con amore* animation with which the excellent, but pedantic Bishop Hacket, in his Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 26, records these academical feats. Speaking of one super-eminent disputant, Dr. Collins, he thus proceeds:—"He was a firm bank of earth, able to receive the shot of the greatest artillery. His works in print, against Eudæmon and Fitzherbert, sons of Anak among the Jesuits, do noise him far and wide. But they that heard

him speak would most admire him. No flood can be compared to the spring-tide of his language and eloquence, but the milky river of Nilus, with his seven mouths all at once disemboguing into the sea. O how voluble! how quick! how facetious he was! What a Vertumnus, when he pleased to argue on the right side, and on the contrary. Those things will be living to the memory of the longest survivor that ever heard him. In this trial, wherein he stood now to be judged by so many attic and exquisite wits, he strived to exceed himself, and shewed his cunning marvellously that he could invalidate every argument brought against him with variety of answers. It was well for all sides, that the best divine, in my judgement, that ever was in that place, Dr. Davenant, held the reins of the disputation. He kept him within the even boundals of the cause; he charmed him with the Caducean wand of dialectical prudence; he ordered him to give just weight, and no more. Horat. l. 1. Od. 3. *Quo non arbiter Adriæ major, tollere seu ponere vult freta.* Such an arbiter as he was now, such he was and no less, year by year, in all comitial disputations; wherein whosoever did well, yet constantly he had the greatest acclamation. To the close of all this Exercise, I come. The grave elder opponents having had their course, Mr. Williams, a new admitted Bachelor of Divinity, came to his turn, last of all. Presently, there was a smile in the face of every one that knew them both, and a pre-judging that between these two there would be a fray indeed. Both jealous of their credit, both great masters of wit; and as much was expected from the one as from the other. So they fell to it with all quickness and pertinency; yet, thank the Moderator, with all candour: like Fabius and Marcellus, the one was the buckler, the other the sword of that learned exercise. No greyhound did ever give a hare more turns upon Newmarket heath, than the replier with his subtleties gave to the respondent. A subject fit for the verse of Mr. Abraham Hartwell, in his *Regina Literata*, as he extols Dr. Pern's arguments made before Queen Elizabeth: *Quis fulmine tanto tela jacet? tanto fulmine nemo jacet.* But when they had both done their best with equal prowess, the Marshal of the Field, Dr. Davenant, cast down his warder between them, and parted them." Vol. I. pp. x—xi.

By this long process, by this severe logical discipline, was Davenant prepared for the services which he afterwards rendered to the cause of religion. His 'Exposition', as well as all his works, bears marks of the character thus impressed upon his mind.

There is a letter of Davenant's to Bishop Hall, so curiously illustrative of the character of his mind, as well as of the spirit of the age, that we cannot refrain from referring to it. Bishop Hall, in his treatise entitled, "The Old Religion", had ventured to designate the Church of Rome, though so sadly corrupt, as yet a "true visible church." For this he was most severely censured: whereupon he writes to Davenant, requesting him to give his most logical consideration upon this perplexing matter, and to 'compurgate' him from all taint of heresy. One might think that this matter might have been very easily disposed of; that the

whole difficulty admitted of a very concise and easy solution, by shewing that the word '*true*' was ambiguous;—that if Bishop Hall meant what he *did* mean, viz., that, notwithstanding the corruptions of the Church of Rome, the great principles of Christianity were still so far recognized that a man may be—as many have been—saved within its pale, he meant what was very reasonable; but that if he meant that it was a "true" church, as fairly exemplifying the character and adequately fulfilling the purposes of the Christian Church, he asserted what was notoriously false. Bishop Davenant comes to all this in time; but it is of course by a long process, and by a due observance of all the formalities of definition and syllogism. The first paragraph from this letter, we will give our readers by way of a treat.

“ To the Right Reverend Father in God, Joseph, Lord Bishop of Exon, these.

“ My Lord:

“ You desire my opinion concerning an assertion of yours, whereat some have taken offence. The proposition was this, 'that the Roman Church remains yet a True Visible Church.'

“ The occasion, which makes this an ill-sounding proposition in the ears of Protestants, especially such as are not thoroughly acquainted with School Distinctions, is the usual acceptation of the word '*true*' in our English Tongue: for, though men skilled in metaphysics hold it for a maxim, *Ens, Verum, Bonum convertuntur*; yet, with us, he which shall affirm such a one is a true Christian, a true Gentleman, a true Scholar, or the like, he is conceived not only to ascribe trueness of being unto all these, but those due qualities or requisite actions whereby they are made commendable or praise-worthy in their several kinds.” * * *

“ I therefore can say no more respecting your mistaken proposition, than this: If, in that Treatise wherein it was delivered, the antecedents or consequents were such as served fitly to lead the Reader into that sense, which, under the word True, comprehendeth only Truth of Being or Existence, and not the due Qualities of the thing or subject, you have been causelessly traduced. But, on the other side, if that proposition comes in *ex abrupto*, or stands solitary in your Discourse, you cannot marvel though, by taking the word True according to the more ordinary acceptation, your true meaning was mistaken.”

Vol. I. pp. xxxv—xxxvi.

The two volumes which the Translator has here presented to the English public, contain, besides the Exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians, a short essay 'on the diversity of degrees in 'the ministers of the gospel'; (in other words, a defence of Episcopacy, and forming the xlvith of his '*Determinationes*';) and a valuable 'dissertation on the Death of Christ.' This dissertation occupies about half the second volume.

The 'Exposition' exhibits all the peculiar excellencies of Davenant's mind, and all the peculiar defects of his age. It displays

learning, most various and deep; a thorough and facile acquaintance with the whole race of Fathers and school divines; no ordinary powers of argument; together with that great pre-requisite for a successful interpretation of Scripture,—a sound and impartial judgement; and the whole is pervaded by a spirit of piety at once sober and ardent, the *doctrinal* being well illustrated by the *practical*.

As almost every commentary has its *peculiar* excellence, arising from the constitution of the writer's mind, or the character of his attainments, we should say that the principal value of this Exposition consists in the large and comprehensive *excursus* in which the good Bishop indulges on the papistical and Calvinistic controversies, whenever a single text, or even an incidental allusion affords him an opportunity. Indeed, in this way, almost the whole of those vast questions is brought under review, and treated in a very able manner. And if, instead of having been thrown in with the '*rudis indigestaque moles*' of a general exposition, they had been arranged and published in a methodical form, they would have constituted an admirable treatise on the great questions with which they are occupied. It is an annoying circumstance, that much of our most valuable theological literature has been published in the form of loose commentary. Controversial matter thus distributed, labours under this two-fold disadvantage; 1st, it is often buried altogether under a mass of very diversified and by no means mutually connected observations; and 2ndly, it is furnished in such scraps and fragments as to repel, rather than invite the reader. Bishop Davenant was thoroughly master of the Romish, as well as the Calvinistic controversy. On these he is always able.

We have said that the defects of the Commentary are the defects of the age; while its excellencies are those of Davenant. Among the principal of these defects, we have specified the large infusion of scholastic logic, theology, and metaphysics which characterize it; and the unmethodical and scattered way in which the most valuable disquisitions are thrown together. The latter defect may, perhaps, be disputed, inasmuch as it may be alleged, that such a mode of writing is inseparable from commentary: our reply, is, why attempt, then, enlarged discussion, profound disquisition, in the shape of a general commentary? A few brief remarks, critical and explanatory, and a practical improvement, are all that a *general* commentary can admit. Lengthened and elaborate reasoning on any one subject, had better be prosecuted separately; not incidentally, still less simultaneously with a thousand other matters, each differing from every other in nature and importance. Besides these more serious defects, there are other minor ones, which obscure and depreciate most of the theological works of that age. One is, the endless subdivision, which is often

so minute, that it confounds the memory and perplexes the understanding a thousand times more than leaving the subject without any formal divisions at all. This was an almost universal defect of the age; and indeed, Davenant is not so chargeable with it as very many of his contemporaries. Nothing tends to assist the mind more effectually than broad and philosophic classification; nothing to confound it more than one too complicated and too minute.

Another unhappy defect of all our elder commentators, is, that, in the desire to leave *no part* of the subject untouched, they illustrate the plainest and most unimportant matters with an amplitude perfectly ludicrous; pursue every theme into its remotest bearings, and indulge in endless digressions, episodes, and wanderings. All this would be bad enough, if writing only on one subject; if, as in our time, a wise application of the principle of the division of labour had broken up the whole science of biblical illustration into several distinct provinces, and disjoined verbal criticism, for instance, from other branches. But such a discursive method appears intolerable, when we consider that the whole business of sacred criticism and exposition was carried on *at once*, and that the same commentary consisted of several elaborate series of disquisition, critical, exegetical, historical, geographical, doctrinal, and practical. It is indeed wonderful, considering all this, that our forefathers should have dwelt with such insufferable tediousness and prolixity on matters which required no explanation; as though the object had been to say as much as could possibly be said on any given topic, not, as much as was to the purpose. Neither do they appear to have been aware of the propriety of leaving whatever is not peculiar to the book on which they undertake to comment, to works of *general* reference on the subjects of biblical geography, history, &c. Each commentary is found to contain distinct, and often lengthy disquisitions, not only on what is not peculiar to the book on which the commentator is engaged, but on points which recur a thousand times in Scripture. To illustrate our meaning, is it not as needless as it is absurd, to commence a commentary on each of St. Paul's Epistles with a long *excursus* on the name, birth, conversion, labours, life, death, &c. of the Apostle? Would not common sense teach, that, as that name occurs so often in Scripture, all that may be said in one place, would come in with just as much propriety elsewhere, and that it would be better, therefore, to leave such matters to some general book of Scripture illustration? Now how does Davenant begin his commentary? Having cited the first two verses of the Epistle to the Colossians, comprising the 'title' or address, he says: 'In the 'title three things are to be observed: the subscription; the inscription; and the salutation.' He then tells us, that he shall say but little concerning the *name* of the Apostle:—that is to

say, he confines his observations to a *full octavo page*; brevity itself, we admit, for those times; supporting his statements by adducing or referring to the opinions of Augustine, Origen, &c. On the life of Paul, he contents himself with referring to certain writings in which an account of the great Apostle may be found. "An Apostle," is the next word which seems to demand elaborate explanation; and the apostleship of Paul in particular is, of course, vindicated at length. These topics occupy about two pages. The rest of these two verses are anatomized and expanded in the same way. So that the first two verses of this Epistle, simple as they are, actually occupy more than fifty pages! Now what can be more obvious, than that all this, in addition to its being for the most part already known, would with equal propriety be repeated by any commentator who should undertake to expound any portion of the apostolic writings in which these names or words occur? If we once adopt such a principle of exposition, if we will persist in illustrating what is plain, and amplifying what is simple, if we will pursue any subject even to its remotest relations, making every word the subject of distinct and interminable digressions, there is no fixing a limit to such labours; since any text may be made the foundation of a biblical cyclopaedia, a theme for a thousand *excursus*. This it is, which has rendered the commentators of our elder theologians,—very many of which contain much valuable matter—so cumbersome and so tedious, and, as they generally repel the reader, so comparatively profitless. Their authors have buried themselves beneath the pile of their own ill-applied erudition; have built themselves up in their own sepulchres.

Such are the defects of Bishop Davenant's Exposition: its excellencies are such as might be expected from a man of singular acuteness of mind, vast theological learning, sober judgement, and elevated piety. What we have said, is not intended to deter our readers (more especially those whose peculiar study is theology) from looking into this and other books of the same character, and published in the same age; but to assure them that, notwithstanding these defects of method, which lie on the surface, and are unhappily but too obvious to casual inspection, there are often treasures of learning and argument to be found in them, which will repay a diligent search, if not a continuous perusal. The redundancies are easily seen, and may be, therefore, passed over. When we say that the redundancies may be passed over, we cannot refrain from hinting at the same time, that it would perhaps be well if the modern editors of our older commentators would sometimes save their readers the trouble of selection, by omitting those parts of the originals which are confessedly mere exuberances, and egregious trifling. Let us not, however, be

misunderstood as wishing to sanction those meagre mutilations of our older writers which sometimes issue from the press in the present day; editions in which much that was worth retaining has been omitted, and all that is worthless retained; in which the language of the author, under the pretence of modernizing it, has been robbed of all its raciness and all its energy; in which, in short, the whole book has been unjustifiably tampered with. In too many instances, such abridgements have been attended with the grossest injustice to the unhappy author who has been subjected to the emendations of the critical Procrustes. Whatever is given, ought undoubtedly to be given in the author's own language, and with all his peculiarities of thought, expression, and manner. But the abridgement of *commentators* cannot do much mischief: the task is plain and easy. It is only to *leave out* those already perfectly detached passages which are irrelevant, and therefore tedious. Abridgement in a work of continuous reasoning, or upon *one* subject, is, indeed, no easy matter, and is to be attempted only by those in whom reverence for departed genius is united with a sound and sober judgement. But in cutting down a bulky commentary to something like genteel proportions, it must require peculiar genius for blundering, to perform the task otherwise than well.

Davenant's Exposition is valuable, not as a book for continuous perusal, but as a work of reference, in which the reader will find most of the disputed points of the Papistical, Calvinistic, and some minor controversies treated with great acuteness, learning, and judgement. All that is wanted, therefore, to enable the theological student to make easy use of this valuable work, is a copious index; and this, we are pleased to notice, Mr. Allport has supplied. It is of course difficult to select a portion sufficiently brief, and yet sufficiently characteristic of the several excellencies and defects of which we have spoken; but the following observations must suffice: if the former part edifies, the latter cannot but amuse our readers. It will be seen with what gravity and seriousness, the theologians of that age set themselves to the demolition of the most ludicrous fallacies.

‘*Faith in Christ Jesus.*’ The Apostle shews the object of Christian faith; not the general, or adequate object, but the principal; and, if we regard the act of justification, the peculiar object.

‘The general and adequate object of faith is, all the truth revealed by God in the Holy Scriptures. There is a sort of general faith which answers to this description, and which by a sure persuasion resolves that whatever things are made manifest in the word of God, are most true. But this general assent of faith cannot justify; because justification brings with it peace of conscience, purification of heart, free access to God, and many other privileges, of which, doubtless, any one

may be void, notwithstanding his firmly believing the whole Scripture to be true and inspired by God: For the devil himself knows the Scriptures, and acknowledges them to have proceeded from the Author of truth. Therefore, in this general object of faith, viz. the word of God, there is one special and main object which is principally to be considered by a believer, and to which all other things that are delivered in the Scriptures have a certain relation and reference, as Durandus speaks, in Prolog. Sent. And this object, is, Christ Jesus in the character of a Mediator and Saviour, which is intimated under his very names; for *Christ Jesus* means nothing else than—*anointed Saviour*.

‘ Now it is clear from the Scriptures, that he is the principal object of faith, and that all other things which are delivered in the Scriptures regard Christ as their end and aim. John v. 39, *Search the Scriptures, they testify of me*; and a little after, *Moses wrote of me*. So in Luke, ult. ver. 44, *All things must be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me*. So it is affirmed concerning the whole law, that it was a *Schoolmaster to bring us to Christ*. Him the prophets described; Him the ceremonies of the law shadowed forth; Him, in short, with all his benefits, the Gospel offers and exhibits to us. The Apostle, therefore, has rightly placed, as the special and principal object of faith, not the Word of God in general, but Christ Jesus our Saviour and Mediator, who is principally regarded by a believer, and to whom all things in Scripture have reference.

‘ Now from hence it follows, that the proper and principal act of justifying faith, is the apprehension and particular application of the gratuitous promises which are offered to believers in this Mediator, Christ. Which particular and justifying faith includes general faith; for if it should waver in general concerning the truth of the divine word, it could not confide in particular concerning the promises made to us in Christ the Mediator; but it justifies, not so far as it assents in general to the divine word, but so far as it is applied to this its principal and peculiar object, viz. to the promises of grace in the Mediator.

‘ Which is evident, first, because, as Thomas expresses it, 1 quæst. 45, art. 6, *the justification of a sinner pertains to the goodness and the mercy of God superabundantly diffusing itself*. But we neither can, nor ought, to seek or apprehend the goodness and mercy of God, independently of the promises of grace, which are made and ratified to us in Christ the Mediator: therefore in these alone, as in the proper object, the act of justifying faith is exercised, when and as far as it justifies.

* * * * *

‘ Thirdly, we shew this from clear testimonies of Scripture. Acts xiii. 38, 39, *Through Christ is preached the forgiveness of sins; and by him all that believe are justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses*. And Rom. iii. 21, 22, *But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe*.

‘ I argue these points the more at large, because Bellarmin, *De justif. lib. i. cap. 8, &c.* says, that justifying faith is a general assent to all things which are contained in the word of God; and makes, not the promises of grace, but the whole revelation of God, the object of this faith. If he intends, that justifying faith assents to the whole divine word, we willingly concede it: but if he denies that it has a certain principal object in the word which it regards before all others in the act itself of justifying, viz. Christ the Mediator, and his gratuitous promises concerning the remission of sins, he is opposed to St. Paul, who, in a hundred places, names Christ as the principal object of faith, not the word in general: he also opposes even Aquinas, who says, that *faith in the act of justifying does not even regard and contemplate all the articles of faith alike, much less the whole word of God, but only God as remitting sins.*—But here a doubt which is raised by the Schoolmen may be briefly solved.

‘ They ask, How Christ can be the object of faith, when faith has for its object an enunciation or proposition revealed by God? Christ is a thing, and (as the Logicians say) an incomplex term, not a proposition in which truth or falsehood is perceived.

‘ It is answered, That is called an object of faith, which is either believed itself, or concerning which any thing is believed. The thing itself which is believed, is a proposition or enunciation; that concerning which it is believed, is a thing signified by a simple term, as Durandus says. Aquinas more plainly remarks: The object of faith is regarded in a twofold manner: either on the part of the thing believed; and so the object of faith is always something incomplex, viz. the thing itself concerning which the propositions of faith are formed, as Christ, the resurrection, the final judgment, creation, and the like: or on the part of the person believing; and so the object of faith is that enunciation which faith apprehends concerning the thing, as that Christ is the Mediator and Saviour, that our bodies shall rise again, and that Christ will come to judge the world, that God created the world, and the like.—Thus far concerning the first gift, i. e. faith, and its object, viz. Christ.’

Vol. I. pp. 61—64.

“The Dissertation on the Death of Christ,” is an elaborate and very judicious treatise on those fiercely contested points which have been mooted on the subject of which it treats. It is disfigured, of course, by some of the peculiarities to which we have referred as characterizing the “Exposition;” notwithstanding which, it is a very valuable production. In this treatise, Davenant plainly shews, that, while profoundly impressed with the truth of the main doctrines of the Calvinistic school, he was by no means the *supralapsarian* which many of the opposite party have been fond of representing him. He was decidedly a *sublapsarian*. Some of his tenets, he certainly pushed further than most Calvinists in the present day would think consistent with truth. That he held the doctrine of ‘Universal Redemption,’ is plain from what he said at the Council of Dort; yet, this doctrine he affirms to be inseparable from Reprobation or Preterition.

It has been asserted, that his opinions on some of the Calvinistic tenets, relaxed considerably in his old age, under the persuasive influence of the amiable and excellent Archbishop Usher. Of this, however, the Translator endeavours to shew there is no sufficient proof; and we concur with him in opinion. The mistake appears to have been founded on an expression of Richard Baxter's.

The following observations, in the introduction to the "Dissertation", are very beautiful, and ought to be laid to heart by the controvertists not only of Davenant's age, but of all ages.

'It is truly a matter of grief and exceedingly to be deplored, that, either from the misfortune or the disorder of our age, it almost always happens, that those mysteries of our religion, which were promulgated for the peace and comfort of mankind, should be turned into materials for nothing but contention and dispute. Who could ever have thought that the death of Christ, which was destined to secure peace and destroy enmity, as the Apostle speaks, Ephes. ii. 14, 17, and Coloss. i. 20, 21, could have been so fruitful in the production of strife? But this seems to arise from the innate curiosity of men, who are more anxious to scrutinize the secret councils of God, than to embrace the benefits openly offered to them. Hence it comes to pass that, from too much altercation on the points, *For whom did Christ die, and for whom did He not die?* little is thought by mankind individually, of applying to ourselves the death of Christ, by a true and lively faith, for the salvation of our own souls. It is my intention, in treating of this subject, to endeavour rather to appease strife, than to excite it anew. Since, therefore, it is conceded by those who extend the death of Christ to all mankind generally, that, as to its beneficial reception, it is applied only to certain persons in particular; and since on the other hand, those who restrain it to the elect alone, confess notwithstanding, that its benefits extend to all that are called, yea, to all men if they would believe; both sides seem to acknowledge a two-fold consideration of the death of Christ. For by both of them it is regarded as an universal cause of salvation, applicable to all mankind individually if they should believe, and as a special cause of salvation, applied effectually to certain persons in particular who have believed.'

Vol. II. pp. 137, 138.

We have left ourselves but little room to speak of the labours of the Editor and Translator. It would be in the highest degree unjust, however, to pass them over without the strongest expressions of commendation. They are such as to make the volumes very complete. The translation not only possesses the more ordinary and absolutely indispensable pre-requisites of general accuracy and fidelity, but the more rare recommendations of considerable care, propriety, and even elegance. It is not often that an expression occurs which grates upon the ear. For our own parts, we highly applaud the practice (lately come into vogue) of translating valuable books of theology, originally written in Latin, into each man's vernacular; that is, where the works are really va-

luable. Whatever might be said, in a former age, for the practice of conveying theology in bad Latin, or whatever might be said for it now, as a medium of more general communication than any single modern language affords, we cannot see the peculiar benefit of puzzling over the horrible dog-Latin in which so large a portion of systematic theology is couched; except when it cannot be remedied; and this is rarely the case. We infinitely prefer a tolerable translation. As to the notion that the practice of reading such books tends to keep up the knowledge of Latin, (the plea sometimes made use of in its defence,) it is, we are persuaded, the most compendious method of destroying any thing like classical taste or a refined sensibility to the beauties and delicacies of the Latin tongue. Latin theology abounds with such words as would make
 ‘Quintilian stare and gasp.’

A very valuable feature of the present work is, that the Editor has appended, (in the form of notes,) biographical sketches of the Fathers and schoolmen whose names so profusely adorn the pages of Davenant:—names once renowned and venerated; now, in many instances, unknown or despised. It is but justice to say, that Mr. Allport has ferreted out the history of these ‘bright obscure’ with most laudable research. His notes, therefore, contain a great deal of curious valuable information. The sketch of the life of Davenant deserves the highest praise: it is the *only* attempt that has ever been made to give any thing like a detailed account of the history and writings of that great and good man. The materials for this purpose were necessarily very scanty; but what *could* be met with, have been procured, evidently by considerable labour, patience, and research. The whole is skilfully put together, and written with unaffected simplicity and great judgement. A good portrait of Davenant embellishes the first volume. We have observed several typographical errors; but they are not such as materially detract from the value of the work.

We sincerely hope that the Translator will receive that encouragement from the public, which his labours merit.

Art. IV. 1. *Thoughts on African Colonization: or an impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles, and Purposes of the American Colonization Society. Together with the Resolutions, Addresses, and Remonstrances of the Free People of Colour.* By Wm. Lloyd Garrison. 2 Parts. 8vo. pp. 160, 76. Boston, U.S. 1832.

2. *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, Dec. 31, 1832. *Analysis of the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the Extinction of Slavery*, with Notes by the Editor. 8vo. pp. 472.

OUR readers will bear us witness, that we have upon all occasions evinced an anxiety to do justice to our American brethren, and to promote, to the utmost of our ability, a cordial

good understanding between the two countries. It is not long since we endeavoured to vindicate the American Colonization Society from imputations and suspicions which we still wish to believe undeserved by its originators and early promoters. We had not then seen Mr. Garrison's pamphlet; and although we were somewhat startled at the language of the North American Reviewer, which seemed to imply the doctrine, that no slave ought to receive his liberty, except on the condition of being transported,—still, we were slow to believe that in republican America,—the land of freedom, the land of '*revivals*'—'*doctrines, principles, and purposes*' so atrocious as are here brought home to the '*Colonizationists*,' could be cherished by the mass of the public. Mr. Garrison himself does not impeach the motives of those who planned the Society.

'Some of them,' he says, 'were undoubtedly actuated by a benevolent desire to promote the welfare of our coloured population, and could never have intended to countenance oppression. But the question is not, whether the motives were good or bad. There is a wide difference between meaning well and doing well. The slave-trade originated in a compassionate regard for the benighted Africans; and yet, we hang those who are detected in this traffic. I am willing to concede, that Robert Finley and Elias B. Caldwell, were philanthropic individuals, and that a large number of their followers are men of piety, benevolence, and moral worth. What then? Is the American Colonization Society a beneficial institution? We shall see hereafter.'

Our present object is not, however, to examine the merits of the project, or the motives of its founders. We will take it for granted, that the institution is a beneficial one; that the intentions of its principal supporters and advocates are benevolent; that Mr. Garrison is what his enemies style him, '*a fanatic, a madman, an incendiary, a monster, and worthy of death.*' It looks, however, as if he had truth and justice on his side, when we find him thus reviled. But into this question we do not now enter. It is to the *documents* contained in his pamphlet, the language of the American press, the avowed sentiments of the supporters of the Colonization project, that we wish now to direct the attention of our readers. The disclosure which this pamphlet makes, is truly a startling and a revolting one. Should it tend to lower the Americans as a people in the estimation of English Christians, the fault does not lie with us. We can truly say, we are grieved and pained at finding ourselves compelled by a sense of duty, to expose the anti-Christian spirit which seems to pervade all the States, and all classes of society in the Union, towards the coloured Americans.

But we have employed at the outset, a term which would be deeply resented by the whites. Strange to say, every black man

born in America, is called an African. Although our American brethren have so long ceased to regard England as their mother country, notwithstanding that they are, in language, in religion, and in many essential characteristics, Englishmen, yet, they persist in calling Africa the *native country* of a race born on their own soil, of parents born in America for many generations upward; and in representing these coloured freemen, their own countrymen, every inch Americans, as 'poor unfortunate exiles from their much loved Guinea or Congo!' Our readers will require proof of this most palpable absurdity. The following are given by Mr. Garrison as illustrative specimens.

'At no very distant period, we should see all the free coloured people in our land, transferred to *their own country*. * * * * * Let us send them back to *their native land*. * * * * * By returning them to *their own ancient land* of Africa, improved in knowledge and in civilization, we repay the debt which has so long been due to them.' *African Repository*.

'And though we may not live to see the day, when the sons of Africa shall have returned to *their native soil*, &c. To found in Africa an empire of christians and republicans; to reconduct the blacks to their native land.' &c. *Idem*.

'Who would not rejoice to see our country liberated from her black population? Who would not participate in any efforts to restore those children of misfortune to their *native shores*? The coloured population of this country can never rise to respectability here: in their *native soil* they can!

'The only remedy afforded, to colonize them in their *mother country*. * * * * * They would go to that home from which they have long been absent. * * * Shall we . . . retain and foster the *alien enemies*.' *Idem*.

'Be all these benefits enjoyed by the African race under the shade of their native palms—' *Idem*.

'We have a numerous people who, though they are among us, are *not of us*.' *Second An. Report of N. York Col. Soc.*

'Among us is a growing population of *strangers* * * * * * It will furnish the means of granting to *every African exile* among us, a happy home in the land of his fathers.' *Rev. Baxter Dickinson's Sermon*.

'Africa is indeed inviting her long exiled children to return to her bosom.' *Circular of Rev. Mr. Gurley*.

This is something less innocent than mere romance. The greater part of the coloured population of the United States of America, are the descendants of those who were forcibly torn from Africa *two centuries* ago. Their fathers, it is remarked, 'assisted in breaking the yoke of British oppression, and in 'achieving that liberty which' Americans 'prize above all price; 'and they cherish the strongest attachment to the land of their 'birth.' Nor is it many years since this patriotic attachment was so substantially evinced, as to excite the warm approbation of no

less a person than General Jackson, the present President. Mr. Garrison gives us the following translation of a proclamation in the French language, issued during the last war.

‘Proclamation to the free people of colour.

‘Soldiers!—When on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow citizens, *I expected much from you*; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. *I knew well how you loved your NATIVE country*, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, relations, wife, children, and property. *You have done more than I expected*. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found, moreover, among you, *a noble enthusiasm* which leads to the performance of great things.

‘Soldiers!—The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger; and the Representative of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. *Your General anticipates them in applauding your noble ardour*.

‘The enemy approaches; his vessels cover our lakes; our brave citizens are united, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valour; or who, the most glory, its noblest reward.

‘By order.

THOMAS BUTLER, Aid-de-Camp.’

pp. 6, 7.

A respectable coloured gentleman of the city of New York, referring to this famous proclamation, makes the following brief comment.

‘When we could be of any use to the army, we possessed all the cardinal virtues; but now that time has passed, we forsooth are the most miserable, worthless beings the Lord in his wise judgement ever sent to curse the rulers of this troublesome world! I feel an anathema rising from my heart, but I have suppressed it.’

The second part of Mr. Garrison’s pamphlet is entirely occupied with numerous documents exhibiting the sentiments of the people of colour themselves; documents which, while reflecting the highest credit upon the good sense, ability, and virtuous feeling of this basely calumniated portion of the American community, place the advocates of the Colonization Society in no very advantageous light. We must make room for a few extracts from these interesting papers; after perusing which, few of our readers will be at a loss to decide which party has the best of the argument.

‘PHILADELPHIA. Jan. 1817. At a numerous meeting of the people of colour convened at Bethel Church, to take into consideration the pro-

priety of remonstrating against the contemplated measure that is to exile us from the land of our nativity, &c.

‘Whereas our ancestors (not of choice) were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendants feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manured; and that any measure or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of this republic.

‘Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of colour, by the promoters of this measure; “that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community”; when, in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country.

‘Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves, voluntarily, from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.

‘Resolved, That without arts, without science, without a proper knowledge of government, to cast into the savage wilds of Africa, the free people of colour, seems to us, the circuitous route by which they must return to perpetual bondage.

‘Resolved, That having the strongest confidence in the justice of God and the philanthropy of the free States, we cheerfully submit our destinies to the guidance of Him, who suffers not a sparrow to fall without his special providence.’ p. 9.

‘HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT. July 1831. At a large and respectable meeting of the coloured inhabitants of the city of Hartford and its vicinity, convened at the vestry room of the African Church:

‘Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is actuated by the same motives which influenced the mind of Pharaoh, when he ordered the male children of the Israelites to be destroyed.

‘Resolved, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the Society is the greatest foe to the free coloured and slave population, with whom liberty and equality have to contend.

‘Resolved, That we look upon the man of colour that would be influenced by the Society, to emigrate to Liberia, as an enemy to the cause, and a traitor to his brethren.

‘Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that many of those who are engaged in this unjust scheme, would be willing, if it were in their power, to place us before the point of the bayonet, and drive us out of existence—so that they may get rid of that dark cloud, as we are termed, which hangs over these United States.

‘Resolved, That in our opinion we have committed no crime worthy of banishment, and that we will resist all the attempts of the Colonization Society, to banish us from this our native land.

‘Resolved, That we consider ourselves the legitimate sons of these United States, from whence we will never consent to be transported.

‘ Resolved, That we will resist even unto death all the attempts of this Society to transport us to the pestilential shores of Liberia.

‘ Resolved, That we will not countenance the doctrine of any pretended minister of the gospel who is in league with those conspirators against our rights.’ pp. 28, 29.

‘ NEW HAVEN. Aug. 3. 1831. At a meeting of the Peace and Benevolent Society of Afric-Americans, &c.

‘ Resolved, That we consider those Christians and philanthropists who are boasting of their liberty and equality, saying that all men are born free and equal, and yet are endeavouring to remove us from our native land, to be inhuman in their proceedings, defective in their principles, and unworthy of our confidence.

‘ Resolved, That we consider those colonizationists and ministers of the gospel who are advocating our transportation to an unknown clime, because our skin is a little darker than theirs, (notwithstanding God has made of one blood all nations of men, and has no respect of persons,) as violaters of the commandments of God, and the laws of the Bible, and as trying to blind our eyes by their blind movements—their mouths being smooth as oil, and their words sharper than any two-edged sword.

‘ Resolved, That while we have no doubt of the sinister motives of the great body of colonizationists, we believe some of them are our friends and well-wishers, who have not looked deeply into the subject; but when they make a careful examination, we think they will find themselves in error.

‘ Resolved, That it is our earnest desire that Africa may speedily become civilized, and receive religious instruction; but not by the absurd and invidious plan of the Colonization Society—namely, to send a nation of ignorant men, to teach a nation of ignorant men. We think it most wise for them to send missionaries.

‘ Resolved, That we will resist all attempts made for our removal to the torrid shores of Africa, and will sooner suffer every drop of blood to be taken from our veins, than submit to such unrighteous treatment.

‘ Resolved, That we know of no other place that we can call our true and appropriate home, excepting these United States, into which our fathers were brought, who enriched the country by their toils, and fought, bled, and died in its defence, and left us in its possession—and here we will live and die.’ pp. 30, 31.

‘ PITTSBURGH. Sep. 1831. At a large and respectable meeting of the coloured citizens of Pittsburgh, convened at the African-Methodist Episcopal Church.

‘ Resolved, That we hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—Liberty and Equality now, Liberty and Equality for ever.

‘ Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme to drain the better informed part of the coloured people out of these United States, so that the chain of slavery may be riveted more tightly; but we are determined not to be

cheated out of our rights by the colonization men, or any other set of intriguers. We believe there is no philanthropy in the colonization plan towards the people of colour; but that it is got up to delude us away from our country and home, to the burning shores of Africa.

‘Resolved, That we, the coloured people of Pittsburgh, and citizens of these United States view the country in which we live, as our only true and proper home. We are just as much natives here, as the members of the Colonization Society. Here we were born—here bred—here are our earliest and most pleasant associations—here is all that binds man to earth, and makes life valuable. And we do consider every coloured man, who allows himself to be colonized in Africa, or elsewhere, a traitor to our cause.

‘Resolved, That we are freemen, that we are brethren, that we are countrymen and fellow-citizens, and as fully entitled to the free exercise of the elective franchise as any men who breathe; and that we demand an equal share of protection from our federal government with any class of citizens in the community. We now inform the Colonization Society, that should our reason forsake us, then we may desire to remove. We will apprise them of this change in due season.

‘Resolved, that we, as the citizens of these United States, and for the support of these resolutions, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, do mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour, not to support a colony in Africa, nor in Upper Canada, nor yet emigrate to Hayti. Here we were born—here will we live, by the help of the Almighty—and here we will die and let our bones lie with our fathers.’ pp. 34, 5.

From an address to the coloured citizens of Brooklyn, New York, issued in pursuance of a meeting of the coloured inhabitants of that township, June 3, 1831, we extract the following forcible and pathetic remonstrance.

‘Brethren, it is time for us to awake to our interests; for the Colonization Society is straining every nerve for the accomplishment of its objects. By their last publications we see that they have invoked all Christian assemblies and churches throughout the Union, to exert their influence, by raising subscriptions to send us (the strangers within their gates, as they call us) to the coast of Africa. They have got the consent of eleven States, who have instructed their senators to do something in the next Congress for our removal. Maryland calls imperatively on the general government to send us away, or else they will colonize their own free blacks. They have, by their influence, stopped the emancipation of slaves in a measure, except for colonization purposes.

‘We owe a tribute of respect to the State of New York, for her not having entered into the confederacy. Though she is the last in proclaiming general emancipation to the slave, yet we find her slow in adopting any such unchristian measures. We may well say, she is deliberate in her councils, and determinate in her resolutions.

‘Finally, Brethren, we are not strangers; neither do we come under the alien law. Our constitution does not call upon us to become neutralized; we are already American citizens; our fathers were among

the first that peopled this country ; their sweat and their tears have been the means, in a measure, of raising our country to its present standing. Many of them fought, and bled, and died for the gaining of her liberties ; and shall we forsake their tombs, and flee to an unknown land ? No ! let us remain over them and weep, until the day arrives when Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God. We were born and nurtured in this Christian land ; and are surrounded by Christians, whose sacred creed is, to do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you—to love our neighbours as ourselves ; and which expressly declares, if we have respect to persons, we commit sin. Let us, Brethren, invoke the Christian's God in our behalf, to do away the prejudices of our brethren, that they may adopt the solemn truths of the gospel, and acknowledge that God is no respecter of persons—that he has made of one blood all the nations that dwell on the face of the earth—that they may no longer bring their reasonings in contact with the omniscience of Deity ; and insinuate to the public, that our intellect and faculties are measurably inferior to those of our fairer brethren. Because adversity has thrown a veil over us, and we, whom God has created to worship, admire and adore his divine attributes, shall we be held in a state of wretchedness and degradation, with monkeys, baboons, slaves, and cattle, because we possess a darker hue ?

‘ We feel it our duty ever to remain true to the constitution of our country, and to protect it, as we have always done, from foreign aggressions. Although more than three hundred thousand of us are virtually deprived of the rights and immunities of citizens, and more than two millions held in abject slavery, yet we know that God is just and ever true to his purpose. Before him the whole world stands in awe, and at his command nations must obey. He who has lately pleaded the Indian's cause in our land, and who has brought about many signal events, to the astonishment of our generation, we believe is in the whirlwind, and will soon bring about the time when the sable sons of America will join with their fairer brethren, and re-echo liberty and equal rights in all parts of Columbia's soil.

‘ We pray the Lord to hasten the day, when prejudice, inferiority, degradation, and oppression shall be done away, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ.’

Are these the men whom the proud republicans of America are anxious to expatriate ? to send to the pestilential shores of a barbarous and heathen land, on the lying pretext that Africa is their native land ? When the Spaniards expelled the Moors, a difference of religion supplied a powerful reason, in those days of intolerance ; while something like retribution may be traced in the calamities which befel the cruel persecutors of the Jews of the peninsula ; and those who refused to submit to baptism, found an asylum on the opposite coast, among their brethren in Morocco. But the coloured Americans are of the same religion as the whites, and have deserved well at their hands. Their only crime lies in the darker hue of their skin. ‘ God has put a mark ’, it is

said, 'upon the black man. The God of nature *intended* they 'should be a *distinct, free, and independent* community.' (*New-Haven Palladium*.) If so, what shall be said of those who frustrate the Divine intention by holding them in bondage? But what is this mark of distinction? Is it meant that a black skin is the distinctive mark of an African? that Africa is the only region where people are born black? The consummate ignorance betrayed in such a notion, is surprising. The Arab, the Hindoo, the Asiatic Portuguese, the Indian Jew, has a skin as dark as any Mandingo or Angola negro; and among the black races, the physical varieties are as numerous and as broadly distinguished as among the whites. While the white races were yet barbarous, the black races were advancing in civilization; and from India and Africa, the parent countries of Gentile science, emanated the light which irradiated the ancient world. 'The Blacks', remarks an enlightened American writer, 'had a long and glorious day; and 'after what they have been and done, it argues not so much a 'mistaken theory, as sheer ignorance of the most notorious 'historical facts, to pretend that they are naturally inferior to the 'whites.'

But the hypocrisy and wickedness of this shallow plea become still more manifest, when it is considered, how utterly this distinctive mark of complexion is disregarded by the slave-holder. Does the lawfulness of holding men in bondage depend upon their colour or their race? What shall be said, then, of retaining in slavery, numbers whose skin is not many shades darker than that of their masters; betraying a mixture of white blood which well nigh obliterates the pretended distinctive mark, and gives the lie to the blasphemy. If Africa *were* the native country of the American black, we might still ask, which is the native country of the mulatto? Surely, as Mr. Garrison argues, 'it would be as 'unnatural to send *white* blood to Africa, as to keep *black* blood 'in America.

'Now, most unfortunately for colonizationists, the spirit of amalgamation has been so active for a long series of years,—especially in the slave States,—that there are comparatively few, *besides those who are annually smuggled into the South from Africa*, whose blood is not tainted with a foreign ingredient. Here, then is a difficulty! What shall be done? All black blood must be sent to Africa; but how to collect it is the question. What shall be done? Why, we must resort to *phlebotomy*.

' "Therefore prepare thee to cut off the flesh;
 —————nor cut thou less nor more,
 But just a pound of flesh."'

But, in employing the terms, white blood and black blood, we are reminded of the emphatic contradiction which the word of

God supplies to the notion, that there is any essential difference between them. The Creator of all has "made of *one blood* all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth"; and he who practically denies this, "maketh God a liar". How admirably does the proud spirit which leads the white American to revolt at worshipping his Maker in the same church with his sable fellow Christian, harmonize with the apostolic exhortation, "Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus," who "is not ashamed to call us"—men of every hue, partakers of the same flesh and blood—"his brethren"! Had Our Lord himself appeared to the American nation "in the form of a servant", with a skin of darker hue than their own, they would have exclaimed with one voice, "Crucify him."

No one who is aware of the intense, the almost savage antipathy which inspires an American towards the coloured races, will accuse us of exaggeration. In this respect, our own West Indians, with all their faults, discover a less unconquerable prejudice. It seems inherited less, indeed, from the European, than from the aboriginal Indian, between whom and the negro there exists a peculiar mutual repugnance, as there is also the most extreme physical contrariety. The very sight of a gentleman of colour, whatever his wealth and intelligence, at the same dinner-table, in the same box of a theatre, still more at the same altar, would, even in this country, throw an American into the agitation of suppressed rage. The well authenticated anecdotes we have heard, illustrative of this fact, would be simply amusing, were it not for the serious consequences of this absurd prejudice. When we find such a spirit as this in Christians, we may well cease to wonder at the haughty prejudice of the ancient Jews towards the Gentiles, which led them to resent Our Saviour's eating with "publicans and sinners," and to exclaim respecting the Apostle of the Gentiles, "Away with this fellow: he is not fit to live." The conduct of the Brahmins towards the inferior castes, finds its counterpart, in the nineteenth century, among the philosophic republicans of America. In proof of this, we shall transcribe a few sentences from the publications of the advocates of Colonization.

' Among the twelve millions who make up our census, two millions are Africans—separated from the possessors of the soil by birth, *by the brand of indelible ignominy*, by prejudices, mutual, deep, *incurable*, by an *irreconcilable diversity of interests*. They are *aliens* and outcasts;—they are, as a body, degraded beneath the influence of nearly all the motives which prompt other men to enterprise, and almost below the sphere of virtuous affections. Whatever may be attempted for the general improvement of society, their wants are untouched. Whatever may be effected for elevating the mass of the nation in the scale of happiness, or of intellectual and moral character, their degradation

is the same,—dark, and deep, and *hopeless*. *Benevolence seems to overlook them, or struggles for their benefit in vain. Patriotism forgets them, or remembers them only with shame for what has been, and with dire forebodings of what is yet to come . . .* In every part of the United States, there is a broad and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has *one drop of African blood in his veins*, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself can subdue—mark the people of colour, *whether bond or free*, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable. The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station *he can never rise, be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may. . . .* They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which *no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed.* African Repository. Vol. IV. pp. 117—119.

‘Here, invincible prejudices exclude them from the enjoyment of the society of the whites, and deny them all the advantages of free men. The bar, the pulpit, and our legislative halls are shut to them by the irresistible force of public sentiment. No talents however great, no piety however pure and devoted, no patriotism however ardent, can secure their admission. They constantly hear the accents, and behold the triumph of a liberty which here they can never enjoy.’

Ib. Vol. VI. p. 17.

‘Is it not wise then, for the free people of colour and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of colour must, in this country, remain for ages, probably for ever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes powerful, universal, inevitable, *‘which neither legislation nor Christianity can remove?’* ‘Let the free black in this country toil from youth to age in the honourable pursuit of wisdom—let him store his mind with the most valuable researches of science and literature—and let him add to a highly gifted and cultivated intellect, a piety pure, undefiled, and “unspotted from the world”—*it is all nothing*: he would not be received into the very lowest walks of society. If we were constrained to admire so uncommon a being, our admiration would mingle with disgust, because, in the physical organization of his frame, we meet an insurmountable barrier even to an approach to social intercourse; and in the *Egyptian colour* which nature has stamped upon his features, a principle of repulsion so strong as to forbid the idea of a communion either of interest or of feeling, as utterly abhorrent. *Whether these feelings are founded in reason or not, we will not now inquire*—perhaps, they are not. But education, and habit, and prejudice have so firmly riveted them upon us, that they have become as strong as nature itself. And to expect their removal, or even their slightest modification, would be as idle and preposterous as to expect that we could reach forth our hands, and remove the mountains from their foundations into the valleys which are beneath them.’ *Ib.* Vol. VII. pp. 195, 231.

‘The Soodra is not further separated from the Brahmin, in regard to all his privileges, civil, intellectual, and moral, than the negro is from the white man, by the prejudices which result from the difference

made between them by the God of nature.' *Seventh Annual Report of Col. Soc.*

'Christianity cannot do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. *This is not the fault of the coloured man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity; but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than a law of nature.*' *Fifteenth An. Rep.*

'The coloured people are subject to legal disabilities, more or less galling and severe, in almost every State of the Union. Who has not deeply regretted their late harsh expulsion from the State of Ohio, and their being forced to abandon the country of their birth, which had profited by their labours, and to take refuge in a foreign land? Severe regulations have been recently passed in Louisiana, to prevent the introduction of free people of colour into the State. Wherever they appear, they are to be banished in 60 days. The strong opposition to a negro college in New Haven, speaks in a language not to be mistaken, the jealousy with which they are regarded. And there is no reason to expect that the lapse of centuries will make any change in this respect.'

Matthew Carey's "Reflections".

'With us, Colour is the bar. Nature has raised up barriers between the races, which no man with a proper sense of the dignity of his species, desires to see surmounted.' *Speeches at the formation of a Col. Soc. in New York.* pp. 135—140.

And this in America! These are the fruits of reason and philosophy, in a republic founded on the 'rights of man', and glorying in the political equality of its citizens, while every sixth individual is a *soodra*, the victim of a prejudice as senseless, of injustice as enormous, as ever disgraced a heathen nation. Talk of freedom, of toleration, of justice, in a country where a free citizen may be expelled from his native soil, because of his complexion! Why Russia and its autocrat appear to advantage in comparison with this ruthless, irresponsible despotism. And then, think of the blasphemy of making the Deity an accomplice in this cruelty and injustice, by resolving it into 'an ordination of Providence,' a 'law of the God of nature', which defies the utmost power of Christianity, which religion cannot, that is, shall not subdue! How must this language of obstinate determination and defiance sound in the ears of Heaven! How righteously will the refusal to inquire whether these feelings be founded in reason or not, whether they be consonant with justice and religion or not, be visited with a rebuke of fearful indignation! When we read such expressions, we are forcibly reminded of the emphatic words of President Jefferson in reference to slavery: '*I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep for ever.*'

But what shall we say to such language from ministers of the Gospel? Let us for one moment imagine St. Paul revisiting the earth, and passing from the extreme western limit of his former labours to the shores of the new world, colonised by those who

forsook their native land, that they might plant their churches beyond the reach of intolerance, in the western wilderness. With what language would *he* address their descendants, on finding them leagued in a general conspiracy against their fellow Christians of a darker skin ! He who once pleaded for Onesimus, the runaway slave, as his spiritual son, entreating his master to receive him, not as a slave or servant, but “above a servant, a brother beloved”;—who taught in the churches, that the slave, on being “called in the Lord,” became “the Lord’s freeman”, as the freeman was Christ’s servant, and that between the Jew and the Gentile there was no difference, the same Lord over all being rich in mercy to all who call upon him ;—who insisted so continually and pathetically upon the unity of the body, as having one head, one hope, “one lord, one faith, one baptism”;—how would *he* deal with these teachers of religion, who lend their sanction to a brutal prejudice which defies every principle of Christianity ? What would the Apostle have said to those who should have urged, that an ‘ordination of Providence’ forbade the realizing of that chimerical unity of the Church upon which he insisted ; that the black and white portions of the mystical body of Christ are incapable of union by a law of nature ; that the prayer of the Saviour is at variance with the decrees of the God of nature ; that He has *not* made of one blood all races ; and that the mountains should be moved from their foundations, before they would admit their sable fellows, “for whom Christ died”, to the privileges of brethren ? Faithful disciples of Him who “gave his life a ransom for all” ; who has left this prime commandment, binding upon all,—“As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them” ; and, as a test of obedience, “By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, when ye love one another !”

We cannot forbear to address a few words to those Christian ministers in this country, who cherish, as becomes them, a brotherly regard for the transatlantic churches, and are apt to look with a degree of fondness and partiality to the land of religious freedom, where Christianity has seemed to put forth of late so holy an energy. Far be it from us to wish to check those feelings, and to sow discord between the two countries. But this we must say ; that it becomes the Christians of England to make their voice heard across the Atlantic on behalf of their coloured brethren ; and that our ministers are more especially bound to enter a solemn protest against the antichristian prejudice which the American pastors seem either timidly to yield to, or criminally to participate. Nor, speaking for ourselves, and willing to bear all the blame attaching to the avowal, shall we be disposed to place much faith in American revivals, or to augur well for the interests of religion in the United States, so long as American Christianity shall be found so partial or so feeble in its operation,

as to exert no modifying influence upon this unjust, cruel, and insolent prejudice.

Its essential immorality is evinced by the avowals we have transcribed, which shew that all moral distinctions are lost sight of in comparison with a superficial physical difference. Virtue is not to be discriminated from vice, knowledge from ignorance, probity from dishonesty, piety from infidelity, if veiled beneath a coloured skin. The lowest profligate, the meanest villain, if a white, shall be admitted to contact and fellowship, rather than Toussaint L'Ouverture, or Lott Carey, or any coloured minister of Christ. The Brazilian Catholic does not scruple to receive the sacred wafer at the hands of a black priest: the American Protestant will not enter the same church as his black fellow citizen! And what is this insurmountable physical barrier? Prejudice is not to be reasoned with, but let us be allowed to examine the matter physiologically. National antipathies are generally founded upon, or fostered by, a difference of creed, of language, of habits, or an hereditary feud between an intrusive and an aboriginal race. In respect to the whites and coloured people of the United States, the creed, the language, the habits are the same; and both are alike exotic races who have become naturalized to the soil together. The one belongs as much to Europe, as the other to Africa; and the indigenous tribes may regard both alike as intruders. Both races are American by birth, English in language, Christian in creed, citizens of the same political family. What prevents their amalgamation? A difference of race? No, for the races have blended; the proud white blood has mingled itself with the African, in America as in the West Indies and every where else, till new terms have been rendered necessary to describe the shades that distinguish the gradations by which the mulatto fades into the quadroon or darkens into the zambo. Physical antipathy between the white and black races, nature disowns. It is not strong enough, in tropical climes, to become the faintest check upon immorality. To an American critic, nothing seems so unnatural, so monstrous as the love of Desdemona for the Moor, which Shakspeare has shewn his matchless knowledge of human nature in depicting so well. Brabantio talks just like a lordly American, incredulous that a maid

——' so tender, fair, and happy,
So opposite to marriage, that she shunn'd
The wealthy curled darlings of our nation,
Would ever, to incur a general mock,
Run from her guardage to the sooty bosom
Of such a thing.'

The noble Venetian is, however, much more easily pacified than

an American would be, on finding that no witchcraft had been employed, and on hearing Desdemona's simple confession,—

‘ I saw Othello's visage in his mind.’

Our readers will excuse this little digression. It is not every body, we admit, that would readily fall in love with a Moor; yet, in Spain, in Sicily, in Syria, Moor and Christian, the fair-skinned European and the swarthy African, have freely mingled. Will it be said, that the Moor, although an African, is not a black, or not of the negro race? Even admitting this, the facts referred to prove that black is no distinctive mark of a particular or distinct race, and that nature has placed no barrier of antipathy between the black and white races. But let it be remembered, the coloured Americans are not all blacks*; nor is it their being black, that excludes them, as a degraded caste, from the privileges of citizenship. The least drop of African blood, if detected in the complexion, although not darker than that of an Andalusian beauty, is fatal to their rights. No proportion of white blood can ennoble them. This anti-social antipathy, therefore, is not founded on mere difference of colour, or of race; for, if so, it would diminish in strength as the physical cause became modified. What then is its real source? It is the pride of caste. The association of slavery with the darker complexion, is so strong, that the American *hidalgo*, in whom, as Burke expressed it, ‘the haughtiness of domination combines with the ‘spirit of freedom’, cannot disconnect them. Freedom is to the Americans, as that great orator remarked, ‘not only an enjoyment, but a rank and a privilege’; and the white aristocrat is consequently at once ‘proud and jealous of his freedom’.

But in whatever way we may account for the strength of the prejudice, are the claims of justice and humanity annulled by its existence? Is the haughtiness of caste to be allowed for ever to suspend or to trample upon the laws of morality? Christianity has been sufficiently powerful to break down the middle wall that partitioned off the Jew from the Gentile,—to loosen the yoke of caste from the neck of the Indian Soodra, and reduce the unsocial pride of the Brahmin,—to make savage nations forget their ancient feuds and mutual antipathies; and shall it be said that it

* Mr. Garrison says: ‘In truth, it is often so difficult, in the Slave States, to distinguish between the fruits of mixed intercourse and the children of white parents, that witnesses are summoned at court to solve the problem! Talk of the barriers of Nature, when the land swarms with living refutations of the statement! Happy, indeed, would it be for many a female slave, if such a barrier could exist.’ (p. 145.)

cannot subdue this pride of caste in the American? It must and will give way.

The whole tale of the wrongs of the coloured race has not, however, yet been told. We regret to state, that the projected expulsion of the free coloured natives, is only a counterpart of the system which is pursued towards both that class and the slaves, whom it is determined to retain in the lowest degradation, lest their knowledge should become power, and that power prove fatal to irresponsible tyranny. What will our readers think of the following disclosures?

The legislative enactment of Ohio, which not long since drove many of the coloured inhabitants of that State into Upper Canada, was the legitimate fruit of the anathemas of the Colonization Society. A bill has been reported in the same legislature, for preventing free people of colour from participating in the benefit of the common school fund, in order to hasten their expulsion from the State! Other States are multiplying similar disabilities, and hanging heavier weights upon their free coloured population. The Legislature of Louisiana has enacted, that whosoever shall make use of language, in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the pulpit, the stage, or, in any other place whatsoever, shall make use of language, in any private discourses, or shall make use of signs or actions having a tendency to produce discontent among the coloured population, shall suffer imprisonment at hard labour, not less than three years, nor more than twenty-one years, or DEATH, at the discretion of the court!! It has also prohibited the instruction of the blacks in Sabbath Schools—500 dollars penalty for the first offence—DEATH for the second!! The Legislature of Virginia has passed a bill which subjects all free negroes who shall be convicted of remaining in the commonwealth contrary to law, to the liability of *being sold by the sheriff*. All meetings of free negroes, at any school-house or meeting-house, for teaching them reading or writing, are declared an unlawful assembly; and it is made the duty of any justice of the peace to issue his warrant to enter the house where such unlawful assemblage is held, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free negroes. A fine is to be imposed on every white person who instructs at such meeting. All emancipated slaves, who shall remain more than twelve months, contrary to law, shall revert to the executors as assets. Laws have been passed in Georgia and North Carolina, imposing a heavy tax or imprisonment on every free person of colour who shall come into their ports in the capacity of stewards, cooks, or seamen of any vessels belonging to the non-slave-holding States. The Legislature of Tennessee has passed an act forbidding free blacks from coming into the State to remain more than twenty days. The penalty is a fine of from ten to fifty dollars, and confinement in the penitentiary from one to two years. Double the highest penalty is to be inflicted after the first offence. The act also prohibits manumission, without an immediate removal from the State. The last Legislature of Maryland passed a bill, by which no free negro or mulatto is allowed to emigrate to, or settle in the State, under the penalty of fifty dollars for every week's residence therein; and if he

refuse or neglect to pay such fine, he shall be committed to jail and sold by the sheriff at public sale; and no person shall employ or harbour him, under the penalty of twenty dollars for every day he shall be so employed, hired, or harboured! It is not lawful for any free blacks to attend any meetings for religious purposes, unless conducted by a *white* licensed or ordained preacher, or some respectable white person duly authorized! All free coloured persons residing in the State, are compelled to register their names, ages, &c. &c.; and if any negro or mulatto shall remove from the State, and remain without the limits thereof for a space longer than thirty consecutive days, unless before leaving the State he deposits with the clerk of the county in which he resides, *a written statement of his object in doing so*, and his intention of returning again, or unless he shall have been detained by sickness or coercion, *of which he shall bring a certificate*, he shall be regarded as a resident of another State, and be subject, if he return, to the penalties imposed by the foregoing provisions upon free negroes and mulattoes of another State, migrating to Maryland! It is not lawful for any person or persons to purchase of any free negro or mulatto any articles, unless he produce a certificate from a justice of the peace, or three respectable persons residing in his neighbourhood, that he or they have reason to believe, and do believe, that such free negro or mulatto came honestly and bona fide into possession of any such articles so offered for sale! A bill has been reported to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which enacts, that from and after a specified time, no negro or mulatto shall be permitted to emigrate into and settle in that State, without entering into bond in the penal sum of *five hundred dollars*, conditioned for his good behaviour. If he neglect or refuse to comply with this requisition, such punishment shall be inflicted upon him as is now directed in the case of vagrants. Free coloured residents are not to be allowed to migrate from one township or county to another, without producing a certificate from the clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, or a Justice of the Peace, or an Alderman! The passage of a similar law has been urged even upon the Legislature of Massachusetts by a writer in the Salem Gazette!

‘All these proscriptive measures, and others less conspicuous but equally oppressive,—which are not only flagrant violations of the constitution of the United States, but in the highest degree disgraceful and inhuman,—are resorted to, (to borrow the language of the Secretary in his Fifteenth Annual Report,) “for the more complete accomplishment of the great objects of the American Colonization Society”!!! pp. 106—108.

‘In the Appendix to the Seventh Annual Report, p. 94, the position is assumed, that “it is a well established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or *general instruction* of the slaves.” The recent enactment of laws in some of the slave States, prohibiting the instruction of free coloured persons as well as slaves, has received something more than a tacit approval from the organ of the Society. A prominent advocate of the Society, (G. P. Disosway, Esq.,) in an oration on the fourth of July, 1831, alluding to these laws, says:—“The public safety of our brethren at the South requires them [the slaves] to be kept ignorant and unin-

structed." The Editor of the Southern Religious Telegraph, who is a clergyman and a warm friend of the colonization scheme, remarking upon the instruction of the coloured population of Virginia, says:

"Teaching a servant to read, is not teaching him the religion of Christ. The great majority of the white people of our country are taught to read; but probably not one in five, of those who have the Bible, is a *Christian*, in the legitimate sense of the term. If black people are as depraved and as averse to true religion as the white people are—and we know of no difference between them in this respect—teaching them to read the Bible will make Christians of *very* few of them. [What a plea!] . . . If Christian masters were to teach their servants to read, we apprehend that they would not feel the obligation as they ought to feel it, of giving them oral instruction, and often impressing divine truth on their minds. [!!] . . . If the free coloured people were generally taught to read, it *might be an inducement to them to remain in this country.* WE WOULD OFFER THEM NO SUCH INDUCEMENT. [!!] . . . A knowledge of letters and of all the arts and sciences, cannot counteract the influences under which the character of the negro *must be formed in this country.* . . . It appears to us that a greater benefit may be conferred on the free coloured people, by planting good schools for them in Africa, and encouraging them to remove there, than by giving them the knowledge of letters to make them contented in their present condition."—[Telegraph of Feb. 19, 1831.]

'Jesuitism was never more subtle, Papal domination never more exclusive. The gospel of peace and mercy preached by him who holds that ignorance is the mother of devotion! who would sequester the Bible from the eyes of his fellow-men! who contends that knowledge is the enemy of religion! who denies the efficacy of education in elevating a degraded population! who would make men brutes in order to make them better Christians! who desires to make the clergy infallible guides to heaven! Now what folly and impiety is all this! Besides, is it not mockery to preach repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, to the benighted blacks, and at the same time deny them the right and ability to "search the Scriptures" for themselves?

'The proposition which was made last year, to erect a college for the education of coloured youth in New Haven, it is well known, created an extraordinary and most disgraceful tumult in that place, (the hot-bed of African colonization,) and was generally scouted by the friends of the Society in other places. The American Spectator at Washington, (next to the African Repository, the mouth-piece of the Society,) used the following language, in relation to the violent proceedings of the citizens of New Haven. "We not only *approve the course* which they have pursued, but we *admire the moral courage* which induced them *for the love of right*, (!) to incur the censure of both sections of the country."

'As a further illustration of the complacency with which colonizationists regard the laws prohibiting the instruction of the blacks, I extract the following paragraph from the "Proceedings of the New-York State Colonization Society, on its second anniversary:"

"It is the business of the free—their *safety requires it*—to keep

the slaves in ignorance. Their education is utterly prohibited. Educate them, and they break their fetters. Suppose the slaves of the south to have the knowledge of freemen, they would be free, or be exterminated by the whites. This renders it necessary to prevent their instruction—to keep them from Sunday Schools, and other means of gaining knowledge. But a few days ago, a proposition was made in the legislature of Georgia, to allow them so much instruction as to enable them to read the Bible; which was promptly rejected by a large majority. I do not mention this for the purpose of *condemning the policy* of the slave-holding States, but to lament its *necessity*."

'Elias B. Caldwell, one of the founders, and the first secretary of the Parent Society, in a speech delivered at its formation, advanced the following monstrous sentiments:

"The more you improve the condition of these people, the more you cultivate their minds, the more *miserable* you make them in their present state. You give them a higher relish for those privileges *which they can never attain*, and turn what you intend for a blessing into a *curse*. No, if they must remain in their present situation, *keep them in the lowest state of ignorance and degradation*. The nearer you bring them to the condition of *brutes*, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy."

'So, then, the American Colonization Society advocates, and to a great extent perpetuates, the ignorance and degradation of the coloured population of the United States!' pp. 148, 149.

'The reason why the slaves are so ignorant, is, because they are held in bondage; and the reason why they are held in bondage, is, because they are so ignorant. They ought not to be freed until they are educated; and they ought not to be educated, because, on the acquisition of knowledge, they would burst their fetters.' Such, Mr. Garrison says, is the logic of the American apologists for slavery, as we know it to be that of the Jamaica planters; and within this vicious circle, all their miserable shifts and evasions move round. We have the best authority, then, for the conclusion, that slavery and education are incompatible; that the plan of educating slaves for freedom is altogether chimerical and impracticable. What! educate a man's property for becoming alienated from him? Will those who view emancipation in this light, ever be induced to take, in good faith, the steps preparatory to the issue they deprecate? Such an expectation would betray an utter ignorance of human nature, and an extreme of credulity perfectly ridiculous. Let us then hear no more of educating slaves with the consent of their masters*. There may be a few honourable exceptions; but the slave-holders of Jamaica, and those of the United States, are generally quite in

* We transcribe the following from the *Globe* of Jan. 24. On the 12th of Dec. last, in the House of Representatives of South Carolina, a bill prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read, was called up, read a third time, passed, and sent to the senate for concurrence.

accordance upon this point. They say, that their slaves shall *not* be instructed, for then they would know themselves to be men. As to those who profess their willingness to consent to the abolition of slavery, as soon as the slaves are prepared for it, let it be recollected, that the apologists for the slave-trade consented that the trade should be abolished, *as soon as the colonies on the coast of Guinea should have become civilized.*

‘Wo to the policy,’ exclaims the philanthropic Bishop Gregoire, the enlightened *Ami des Noirs*, ‘that would found the prosperity of a nation on the misery of others ! And wo to the man whose fortune is cemented by the tears of his fellow men ! It is according to the established order of things under the control of Divine Providence, that whatever is iniquitous should be at the same time impolitic, and that fearful calamities should be the chastisement of crime. The individual culprit suffers not always here below, the punishment due to his offence ; because, to use the words of St. Augustine, God has eternity to punish in. *It is not so with nations*: in their collective capacity, they do not belong to the future state of existence. In this world, therefore, according to the same Father, they are either recompensed, or punished, as so many nations have been, for national crimes, by national calamities.’ *

In the political and moral effects of slavery, and its contingent dangers, the crime carries with it in some degree its own punishment ; and nothing can more strikingly illustrate this, than the present aspect of things in the United States. There, we have all classes affecting to deplore its existence in the heart of society as a calamity, yet, refusing to repent of or to abjure the sin. There, by a monstrous inversion of sentiment, we find it seriously maintained, that it is the slave-holders, not the slaves, who are to be commiserated, as being, by an unhappy necessity, involved in the system. The whites, not the blacks, who are ‘a nuisance’, are to be pitied. There is a sense, perhaps, in which this may be partially true. The injurer is more to be pitied than the injured, the criminal than the sufferer ; and that perversion of moral feeling which seems to have spread, like a contagion, from the south to the north, through all the classes of American society, has something in it more frightful than the physical degradation of the blacks themselves. The plague-spot, slavery, has infected every thing within reach of contact. Its effects are seen in the morbid pride, the tremulous apprehension, the short-sighted efforts of the whites. Slavery, in America, has rendered the constitution a lie, changed nature into an enemy, made the increase of population a tremendous evil, and occasioned the increase of knowledge and virtue in the proscribed caste, to be dreaded as a still

* “*De La Traite et de l’Esclavage.*” Paris. 1815.

greater evil. Hatred and fear, mingled with a portion of national shame, form the scourge with which slavery is at this time lashing the Americans. But this is not all. The existence of profitable slavery in the southern states, of unprofitable slavery in the middle states, and of a caste, the offspring of abolished slavery, in the northern and middle states,—is the principal origin of the widening breach between the different sections of the Union. It is this circumstance which renders their several interests all but incompatible. The seeds of discord which are now ripening into open conflict, have been sown by Slavery. We consequently find the Slave-states the most tenacious of their sovereignty, while almost all the great slave-holders are anti-federalists. Nine states out of the twenty-four have now no slaves; and four more, in the middle and western sections, comparatively few. But in the remaining eleven, the slaves, who numbered in 1790 less than 700,000 throughout the Union, now amount to 2,010,000, having nearly trebled in forty-two years; and of these, about a million are concentrated in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, between the Potomac and the Alatomaha. With the growth of the slave population, has grown the anti-federal feeling, in which, Washington foresaw the probable cause of the disruption of the Federacy, and the downfall of the fair fabric he had so greatly contributed to consolidate. Thus is the curse of Slavery preying on the vitals of the constitution. But will it entail no other national punishment upon those who persist in ‘founding their prosperity on the misery and degradation of others’? “Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord.”

From America, we turn to England with feelings of mingled hope and intense anxiety. Upon the English soil, the slave is free. The British Legislature is the arena, in which the monster Slavery must be dragged forth to receive its death-blow. The attention of both hemispheres is fixed upon the approaching contest. It is not Jamaica slavery only, but Carolina slavery, Cuba slavery, Brazilian slavery, that it depends upon the decision of Great Britain to extinguish. Five millions and a half of slaves are awaiting the verdict that shall find and proclaim them—MEN. Evidence enough in all conscience has been heard on both sides. We have now on our table the three immense folio volumes, containing the Reports of the Lords’ Committee and the House of Commons’ Committee, with the minutes of the evidence respectively laid before them, which, by those who have access to them, and leisure for the perusal, will be found an invaluable mass of information, and altogether decisive of the question. Of the evidence annexed to the Commons’ Report, the present Number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter contains a very able analysis, with some pithy notes by the Editor (we believe, Mr. Z. Macaulay). In this condensed form, every one may easily make

himself master of the facts established by the evidence, which amply sustain the following two propositions. 1. That the Slaves, if emancipated, will adequately maintain themselves by their own labour. 2. That the danger of withholding freedom from the slaves, is greater than that of granting it. Upon the present occasion, we cannot attempt to go into the details of the evidence, either in the shape of abstract or of extracts; and indeed, we earnestly hope that the majority of our readers will lose no time in procuring and attentively perusing the whole of this interesting document.

It may not, however, be so obvious at first sight, as it is true in fact, that upon these two propositions hinges the whole question as regards the expediency of early emancipation. 'The important question of what is due to the fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property, as connected with emancipation,' was not investigated by the Commons' Committee; and it may be thought by some of our readers, that this enters, even as a preliminary inquiry, into the general question of expediency. Upon this point, we shall content ourselves with transcribing the following remarks, which have appeared in the Patriot newspaper.

'This consideration (the interests of private property) ought not to be allowed for one moment to embarrass the settlement of the question, for three obvious reasons: First, the negro, at least, *owes nothing to the planter*, and the victims of our national guilt ought not to continue to suffer, "while we are haggling about the pounds, shillings, and pence." Secondly, when it is finally determined that slavery shall cease, it will be quite time enough to go into the consideration of those special cases of hardship which may possibly require an equitable remedy. The claim to compensation is at present urged only as an argument *ad terrorem*, as it was during the agitation of the slave-trade question; the justice and the impracticability of compensation being insisted upon in the same breath. But for what is the slave-holder to be compensated? For the loss of his power over the person of the negro, or for the loss of his command over the labour of the negro? If for the former, he may just as reasonably claim compensation for every abridgement of his arbitrary power by humane enactments. If for the latter, he has to prove that his command over that labour will be taken away, or even diminished, by the abolition of slavery. Thirdly, let it be but admitted, what the evidence condensed in this pamphlet triumphantly establishes, that the slaves will, if emancipated, maintain themselves by their labour, and that no danger would result from granting them freedom; it follows that the abolition of slavery would be in two respects a boon to the planter: first, by cheapening labour; (free labour being always

‘ cheapest;) and secondly, by extinguishing the element of danger which is always generated by slavery, and with it, both the conscious feeling of insecurity and the cost of protection. Should it appear that the interests of private property, the value of all the legitimate property, are enhanced by the change in the condition of the slave, (which it is our firm belief that, ultimately at least, they would be,) the claim for equitable and reasonable compensation would be brought within very narrow limits.

‘ West Indians, and many persons who are less excusable for the prejudice, have so long been in the habit of considering the negroes as so much *stock*, that they consider the proposal to raise them to the social level of men, as tantamount to robbing them of so many head of cattle. They forget this trifling difference between the human herd employed upon their plantations and the live stock of a farm; the negro is of no use, *except for his labour*. He cannot now, in the British islands at least, be bred for a foreign market. He yields neither milk, flesh, wool, horn, nor hides. An old negro is a burden to the proprietor. A dead negro is worth something less than nothing. His muscles and sinews alone are valuable, when set to work by the cart-whip and other apparatus. Now, as the property in the person of the negro is valuable simply as giving a command over his physical labour, if that command can be secured without the proprietorship, which is in itself a burden, what does the slave-holder lose by giving up his whole stock? What more than a gentleman who should give up his carriage-horses, on condition of being furnished with the use of horses by the jobber, on cheaper terms than he could maintain his own in the livery-stable, taking into account the chances of loss by death, the veterinary surgeon’s and farrier’s bills, and the other attendant expenses?

‘ Or let us suppose that the gentleman’s horses had died, or that they were found to be stolen property, to which he could not make a valid or legitimate claim;—he loses, it is true, the market price of the horse, but he saves the amount, perhaps, in the first or second year of his adopting the cheaper, though less dignified method of hiring. Is he greatly to be pitied?

‘ But if to hold men in slavery be a crime,—call it a national or an individual crime,—the only preliminary question ought to be, Can it be abolished without injury to the great sufferers by that crime, or without a *disproportionate* punishment falling upon the guilty principals in that crime? Admitting that the whole nation participates in the guilt, as originally an accessory; that it has, in former times, sanctioned and encouraged slavery, and the slave-trade too; that the feeling of its moral turpitude is a feeling of modern growth: for this its sin, greatly a sin of

‘ignorance, this nation has been punished in various ways,—has
 ‘been mulcted, and taxed, and injured in its best interests; has
 ‘been deprived of its American colonies, which, in retaining that
 ‘fatal legacy of slavery, have clung to a curse that is now begin-
 ‘ning to work upon the vitals of the State. But what punish-
 ‘ment is not due from God and man to those guiltier principals
 ‘in the crime, who—when a whole nation has at length awakened to
 ‘repentance,—deaf to all remonstrance, after forty years’ warning
 ‘—persist in heaping fresh wrongs and injuries upon the victims
 ‘of their oppression, stigmatizing the sentiments of common hu-
 ‘manity as cant and hypocrisy, persecuting the ministers of
 ‘religion, and defying the very Government that protects them
 ‘in their crimes? We invoke no human vengeance upon Ja-
 ‘maica, but we know who has said, “I will repay.” Our anxiety
 ‘is, that England should not continue to be involved in the guilt
 ‘of tolerating the continuance of the wrong.

‘The time is come for the settlement of the question. If
 ‘slavery is not now abolished, it will be the fault of Christians
 ‘in this country. Nothing can much longer delay the abolition,
 ‘but the supineness or mistakes of the friends to emancipation.
 ‘We entreat our readers to be on their guard against delusions.
 ‘The following has been announced, among “the political prin-
 ‘ciples of the Conservatives,” as the specific pretext upon which
 ‘the abolition of slavery is now to be resisted by the *pro-slavery*
 ‘party:—

‘“To promote, *after a just and full compensation shall have*
 ‘been secured to the proprietor of each slave, the abolition of
 ‘slavery throughout the British dominions, at such time, in each
 ‘colony, as it can be effected with advantage to the slaves, safety
 ‘to the colonies, and security to the shipping and commercial
 ‘interests of the empire !!”

‘That is, delay, upon a double pretext, *ad infinitum*. We
 ‘say, Now. Our opponents mean, Never.’

We do not say, Now or never. But, if ever, *now*.

Art. V. *Biblical Notes and Dissertations*, chiefly intended to confirm and illustrate the doctrine of the Deity of Christ; with some Remarks on the practical importance of that doctrine. By Joseph John Gurney. 8vo. pp. 480. London, 1832.

BIBLICAL Criticism has hitherto received but few contributions from the Society of Friends. As a religious body, they have almost universally discovered an aversion to theological discussions; and the spirit which might tend to excite and extend them, has generally been checked and repressed by their leaders.

The controversies which have occasionally sprung up within the Society, have been subdued, rather than determined; and the influence of authority has been more powerful than that of knowledge, in maintaining the forbearance and quietude which prevail in their community. On the other hand, they display no solicitude to enlarge their denomination, and make no exertions to diffuse their principles. In this respect, the Friends of the present day greatly differ from their founders, who were unsparing in the manifestations of an ever-restless and adventurous zeal for the propagation of their opinions. The religious controversies of the times have publicly engaged but little of their attention. There have, indeed, been writers of the Society of Friends, who have given proofs of their application to the study of the Bible; but these have been but few, nor have they been distinguished for any essential services rendered either to the exposition or to the defence of evangelical truth. We have now before us almost the first erudite treatise in support of fundamental Scriptural doctrines, from which we can conclude that the cultivation of Biblical criticism is not wholly neglected by them. Mr. Gurney's volume, for sobriety, explicitness, and learning, must take precedence of the theological productions of the community of which he is an ornament, and is entitled to an honourable place among the numerous works of its own class for which we are indebted to Christian scholars.

The contents of this work comprise Notes and Dissertations,—
 1. On the Canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.—
 2. On the pre-existence of Jesus Christ before John the Baptist.—
 —3. On Christ, the Redeemer—the Living One—in the time of Job.—4. On the existence of Christ before Abraham.—5. On the existence of Christ when the world was created.—6. On the Eternal pre-existence of Christ.—7. On Christ pre-existent in the form of God, and on an equality with Him.—8. On the Chaldee Targums, and on the doctrine of their authors respecting the Word of Jehovah.—9. On the Creation of all things by the Word or Son of God.—10. God made the world by his Son.—
 11. On the testimony of the Apostle Paul, that the Psalmist addresses the Son of God, as the Creator of the Universe.—12. The Son the Image of the Invisible God, the First-born of the whole creation, and the Creator of all things in heaven and in earth.—13. On the preaching of Christ to the Antediluvians.—
 14. On the Angel who bore the name and displayed the attributes of God.—15. On the Deity of the Word.—16. On the prophecies of Isaiah, in chap. vii. viii. and ix. 1—6.—17. Christ the Branch is Jehovah our Righteousness.—18. On the Various Readings of 1 Tim. iii. 16.—19. Additional Observations on 1 Tim. iii. 16.—20. Jesus Christ our Great God and Saviour.—

21. Christ who, in his human nature, descended from the Jews, is "over all God blessed for ever."—Conclusion. On the practical Importance of Faith in the Deity of Christ.

As these are topics which have successively engaged the attention and employed the labours of the most eminent theological controvertists and Biblical critics, the inquirer will scarcely expect to meet in this volume with information or reasonings of a novel kind. After the extensive and minute researches into every branch of criticism, and the unwearied diligence in disposing of the results of their collations and discoveries, for which we owe so much gratitude to authors of reputation, it would be presumptuous to expect from a modern advocate of Christian doctrines, the gratification which is to be derived from original statements and unusual proofs. Yet, although the subjects themselves, and the evidence which belongs to them, are familiar to us, their supreme importance and their vital interest will ever prevent their being regarded as trite and common.

The first of these Dissertations is 'On the canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.' The Epistle is anonymous; so are the epistles ascribed to the Apostle John, the name of the author not being prefixed to either of them. In this respect, the two cases are similar; but the circumstances in which they otherwise differ from each other, are numerous and important. The anonymous character of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is not the circumstance from which exclusively, or even principally, doubts of its being entitled to canonical authority, have arisen; since we find the authority of anonymous books admitted from the beginning; and on the other hand, there have been many who have denied the claim of books bearing their author's names to a place among the canonical Scriptures. Mr. Gurney is unquestionably correct in stating that, if there are sufficient reasons to convince us that Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we must of course rest satisfied of its canonical authority. But we cannot say that we find in his arguments any better elucidation of the question, or any nearer approximation to a determination of it, than in the statements and reasonings of his predecessors, while he has not noticed in his Dissertation some of the strongest objections which lie in the way of his conclusion. In the first of the proofs by which Mr. Gurney supports the hypothesis of the Pauline origin of the epistle, we are unable to perceive any cogency or closeness of connection. Whatever be the subjects to which the Apostle Peter refers in his second epistle, as being included in the communication which the persons to whom it was sent had received from the Apostle Paul, it is evident that they were not peculiar to it, because they were to be found in all his epistles:—"Even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto

you, *as also in all his epistles*, speaking in them of these things." This passage does not, we think, ascribe a superior degree of wisdom in reference to one epistle more than to another, though this is assumed, and is said to apply with peculiar force to the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Apostle Peter addresses his epistles to the "elect strangers of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." But, if the epistle to the Hebrews was written to the Jewish Christians of Palestine, as Mr. Gurney supposes, we do not perceive how it can be said to be written to persons in any of the countries enumerated in Peter's dedication of his epistles. We might, with more appearance of probability, fix upon the Epistle to the Galatians, or that to the Ephesians, as the one intended; since in these, it cannot be denied, there are "some things hard to be understood."

From the expression, "they of Italy salute you," Mr. Gurney infers, as others had done before him, that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews was in Italy at the time of his writing it; and that the epistle was written from Rome; but the words *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, would rather seem to indicate that the writer was not *in* Italy, but out of it, accompanied by some persons who belonged to that country. Nothing is determined by such an expression as to the place from which the epistle was sent; nor does the connection in which we find it, assist us to any probable conjecture on the subject.

The evidence of ecclesiastical tradition on the Pauline origin of the epistle is much less satisfactory than the statement, that the Greek and Eastern fathers are unanimous in ascribing the epistle to Paul, would lead the reader to conclude. It is evident, from Origen's accounts, that doubts were entertained, even in the East, about its authorship; and the manner in which some of the earliest of the Greek fathers, including Origen himself, have delivered their sentiments on the point, ill accord with the explicitness of a direct testimony or an unhesitating opinion.

On the internal evidence, much has been written; and Mr. Gurney follows his predecessors, in collecting examples of co-incident sentiments and verbal agreements from the acknowledged epistles of Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews, with the view of deducing from the comparison, the proofs of a common origin. Many of these examples have but little relevance to the question. For instance: in Heb. i. 3, 4., it is said, that the Son of God, "when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they." "This, it is remarked (p. 16), 'is precisely the doctrine of Paul; who declares that God raised Jesus "from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places,

'far above every name that is named, not only in this world, but 'also in that which is to come.'" But is not this also the doctrine of Peter?—"Jesus Christ, who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him." 1 Epis. iii. 21, 22. We cannot be surprised that, in writing on subjects alike common and interesting to them, the writers of the New Testament should discover, to a considerable extent, an agreement in the sentiments and expressions respectively employed by them; especially when we remember the original sources of their instructions, and the peculiarities of their characters and associations. We might obtain presumptions, similar to those which Mr. Gurney urges, from a comparison of other books; and if the epistles of Peter were anonymous, might allege, from the coincidences, or the resemblances, that we detect in collating them with the epistles of Paul, that they are the productions of the same author. But so long as the complexion of the books should be found different, and their styles severally unlike each other, we should not be prepared to affirm an identity of authorship in respect to them.

In order that we may shew the bearings of this assumed ground on which Mr. Gurney rests his deductions, we shall compare the epistles of Peter with those of Paul; adducing, as we proceed, the parallel cases from the Dissertation before us.

'Heb. x. 38, "The just shall live by faith." 'The words are 'a quotation from the Old Testament, but they are cited and 'applied elsewhere only by Paul.' But, if this be regarded as a proof presumptive, it might be shewn that Peter's first epistle was written by Paul, since we find in chap. ii. 6, a passage from Isaiah xxviii. 16, which is cited, and applied elsewhere only by Paul. Vid. Rom. ix. 33. x. 11. 'In Heb. iv. 13, 14, 'the first principles of religion are figuratively represented as 'milk, and the more recondite doctrines of Christianity as strong 'meat: the same remarkable figures are adopted by Paul, in '1 Cor. iii. 2.' But the word *γαλα*, *milk*, is the only one which is common to both passages; and the figure thus employed is also used by the Apostle Peter, 1 Epis. ii. 2. The words, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," 1 Pet. i. 3, are found in 2 Cor. i. 3, and no where else in the New Testament. "At the revelation of Jesus Christ," is a form of expression we find in 1 Pet. i. 7, 13; but it occurs in the writings of Paul, 1 Cor. i. 7, 2 Thess. i. 7. "Who believe in God that raised him up from the dead, τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν," is used by Peter, 1 Epis. i. 21, and, besides, only by Paul, who frequently employs it, Rom. iv. 24, 2 Cor. iv. 14, Gal. i. 1, Coloss. ii. 12. "Wives be obedient to your own husbands," 1 Pet. iii. 1, is also read in Paul's epistles, Eph. v. 22, Coloss. iii. 18. In 1 Pet. iii. 3, we have directions given respecting the dress of

women, as we have also in 1 Tim. ii. 9. The precept delivered by Peter, 1 Epis. iii. 9, Μη ἀποδίδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ καλοῦ, is contained in Rom. xii. 17, 1 Thess. v. 15. “—ready to judge the quick and the dead,” are expressions peculiar to Peter, 1 Epis. iv. 5, and Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 1. “—partakers of Christ’s sufferings,” is another instance, v. 13, and 2 Cor. i. 5, 7. The coincidence of expression in the charge of Peter, 1 Epis. v. 1, 2, and in Paul’s address to the elders at Miletus, Acts xx. 28, 29, is much more close and striking than in some of Mr. Gurney’s examples. Νῆφω and γρηγορέω—these verbs are used in conjunction, 1 Pet. v. 8, and 1 Thess. v. 6, but only in those passages. Θεμελιόω, applied to Christians, occurs only in 1 Pet. v. 10, and Ephes. iii. 17, Coloss. i. 23. “The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night,” is found only in 2 Pet. iii. 10, and 1 Thess. v. 2. With these examples, then, before us, and supposing the epistles of Peter to be without the name of the writer, might we not adopt the words with which Mr. Gurney concludes his collation of passages, and say?—‘On a close inspection, then, ‘it appears, that the points of resemblance between the Greek ‘style of our anonymous author and of Paul are numerous and ‘highly characteristic.’ We should then ascribe the epistles of Peter to the pen of Paul, exactly, and on the same grounds as Mr. G. attributes to him the epistle to the Hebrews.

But some of Mr. Gurney’s examples are of more than questionable propriety; as when he remarks, (p. 22,) that Παρρησία, to denote *boldness* in *approaching* God, is peculiar to Paul and this epistle. Heb. x. 19. “Having therefore, brethren, boldness (παρρησίαν) to enter into the holiest, &c.” “In whom we have boldness (παρρησίαν) and *access* with confidence.”—Eph. iii. 12. In each of these passages, there are additional words, which give the sense of *access*. In the former, we have παρρησίαν εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον; and in the latter, τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν. In the first epistle of John, the word is used precisely as in Heb. x. 19, and Ephes. iii. 12. “Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, *then* have we confidence (παρρησίαν) toward God, and whatsoever we ask we receive of him.”—1 Epis. iii. 21. “And this is the confidence (παρρησίαν) that we have in him, that, if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us.” v. 14. In both these passages, the connexion shews, that boldness in *approaching* God, is the sense in which the word is used.

But after all the array of examples of similar or identical usage, and the comparisons adduced, the difference of style is admitted by Mr. Gurney; and he endeavours to remove the difficulty which this marked diversity in the composition of the epistle opposes to the assumption that Paul was its author, by assigning, as the cause of the superiority of its style, the severer attention of the writer. ‘The Greek style of this epistle be-

'came more polished than that in which the Apostle usually wrote, for the simple reason, that it was more attended to—more studied.' We do more than hesitate to admit the ground on which this solution is offered. The character of a writer's style will not be essentially affected by his most elaborate attention to his subject. The Epistle to the Hebrews is not more studied than Paul's Epistle to the Romans; but the difference of style between these epistles, is not less remarkable than in any other instance which might be adduced. It is surprising that Mr. Gurney should not have taken the least notice of the objection to his hypothesis, founded upon Heb. ii. 3.; which, in the opinion of some of the soundest critics, is alone decisive of the question. But on this point, and on the whole subject, we refer our readers to a former article. *Eclectic Review*, May 1830, pp. 399, &c.

The Eighth of these Dissertations is 'On the Chaldee Targums, and on the doctrine of their authors respecting the word 'of Jehovah.' Of the Targums, or Paraphrases of the Old Testament in the Chaldee language, the most valuable are, that of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, and that of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets, which are probably nearly of the same age. We have no means which can materially assist us in endeavouring to obtain a satisfactory determination of the period to which the date of their origin should be assigned, but they are generally considered as having been written about the commencement of the Christian era. Perhaps they are of later date. From some peculiarities of diction frequently occurring in these ancient works, they have been adduced by many controversial writers as exhibiting important testimony to prove the belief of the Jews, in very remote times, in the pre-existence and distinct personality of the Messiah. Mr. Gurney is to be classed with those writers who have deemed this species of evidence available in support of the doctrine of the divinity of Our Lord, and who have assigned it an important place in that connexion. For ourselves, we must confess that we are not prepared to admit the Targums to the honour which is claimed for them as unexceptionable witnesses to the points for which their testimony is produced. We do not perceive, on an examination of their evidence, that the readings of the Hebrew text are so elucidated as to receive another sense than that which a reader would ascribe to them, who had no means of using these auxiliaries in his endeavours to understand the meaning of the Old Testament. The manner, too, in which the Targums are employed by some Christian writers, cannot be described otherwise than as incautious and partial: their citations are frequently faulty and defective, and not calculated to lead an inquirer into a knowledge of the true bearings of the several terms and usages which are found in this secondary class of ancient Jewish authors. A more minute and extensive examination

of the whole evidence to be obtained from them, would be necessary to determine the merits of the question under discussion. We shall, however, just glance at the examples which Mr. Gurney has produced, and try the soundness of the inferences and conclusions which he is endeavouring to establish on their authority.

The Hebrews, it is well known, regarded with a reverence which degenerated into superstition, the name Jehovah, appropriated to the Divine Being; for which they substituted other names, as Elohim, Adonai, or terms of abbreviation. In the Targums, the terms, *Jah*, and *Word of Jah*, are used in the same manner. To the latter expression, in some examples of its use, a sense has been ascribed, implying, in the subject thus designated, distinct personal divinity. Several such examples are brought under our notice by the Author. As the following is one of the most important of the passages which he has selected, in illustration of the doctrine which he supposes to be thus conveyed by the language of the Chaldee Paraphrasts, we shall endeavour to ascertain its real import. This is the more desirable, as not a few writers, some of them of high respectability, have been very positive in asserting the authority of the Targums. Mr. Gurney refers to them, as maintaining a doctrine coincident with that of the Apostle John in the beginning of his gospel, and as assisting us to determine the import of the principal expressions employed by the Apostle in his description of his great subject. If the Targumists speak of the Word of Jah as a person distinct from Jehovah, their evidence is of the greatest moment; but the following passage contains no proof, nor even a presumption, that they entertained such a doctrine.

‘ On some occasions, the *Word of Jah* appears to be described by the Targumists as the person through whom *Jah*, or *Jehovah*, effects the redemption and salvation of his people. Isaiah xlv. 18—25, is paraphrased by Jonathan in the following striking language:—“ These things saith *Jah*, who created the heavens: God himself who founded the earth and made it, &c. Look unto my *Word*, and be ye saved, all ye who are in the ends of the earth: by my *Word* I have sworn: the decree is gone forth from me in righteousness, and shall not be in vain: because, before me every knee shall bow and every tongue swear. Howbeit, he (God) said to me (the prophet), that by the *Word of Jah* he would bring righteousness and strength. By his *Word* shall be confounded and brought to confusion with their idols, all the nations who attacked his people. In the *Word of Jah* shall all the seed of Israel be justified and shall glory.” This passage of the Targum appears plainly to import, that God, even the Father, originates the redemption of his people; and that the *Word of Jah* is a divine Person, to whom he commands all men to look for their salvation, because it is through him that he promises to effect the great deliverance.’ p. 137.

Before we proceed to notice the passages thus produced by Mr. Gurney as vouchers for the doctrine of a distinct personal subsistence of the Word, we must take the liberty of giving from the Targum of Jonathan, the necessary quotation, without the partial arrangement and omissions which appear in the foregoing extract. 'Verse 18. These things, saith Jah, who created the heavens: God himself who founded the earth and made it—I am Jah, and there is no other. 21. Jah,—a just God, and a Saviour, there is none beside me. 22. Look unto my word and be ye saved, all ye who are in the ends of the earth, for I am God and there is no other. 23. By my word have I sworn, the declaration is gone forth from before me in righteousness, and shall not be in vain, That before me every knee shall bow, every tongue confess. 24. Surely by the word of Jah he said upon me he would bring righteousness and strength, by his word they shall praise, and all the nations, with their idols, who were the enemies of his people, shall be confounded. 25. In the word of Jah shall all the seed of Israel be justified and shall glory.' Throughout the whole of this quotation, there is only one principal subject: the undivided supremacy of Jehovah is asserted. No reader can mistake the import of the verses in the original, or in any version of them. The doctrine delivered by Mr. Gurney in the former part of the concluding sentence of the foregoing extract, is not to be questioned; but the Targumist Jonathan does not declare it, nor do his words import it. We can neither perceive in this passage any evidence to sustain the notion, attributed to it by Mr. Gurney, of a personal existence in the *word* apart from the *being* of the infinitely glorious Eternal One; nor recognize any such difference in the language of the Targumist here, compared with other and numerous specimens of his diction which might be given, as would lead us to regard his paraphrase as in this instance remarkably striking. In the expression, *word of Jah*, throughout the whole of the preceding verses, no other usage, we think, is to be discovered, than that which is so common in the Targums, of substituting a *periphrasis* for the ineffable Divine name. Mr. Gurney has, by the emphatics of the press, made a distinction which is not warranted in the phrase, and which we have been careful to exhibit throughout in a uniform manner.

In the 23d verse occur these words: 'By my word I have sworn (במיטרי),'—the expression used in all the other passages. Now, as it will be easy to prove that the expression cannot in this instance be applied to a personal existence, in the sense assumed by Mr. Gurney, we shall find no difficulty in reading the passage as we find it in the Chaldee paraphrase, precisely in the same sense and application as we read it in the Hebrew text. "Men verily swear by the greater."—"When God made pro-

mise to Abraham, because He could swear by no greater, he swore by himself."—Heb. vi. 13. The instances are not few in the Bible, in which the Divine Being is represented as with solemnity giving forth an oath.—Jerem. xxi. 5. 'By myself I have sworn,' is, in the Targum of Jonathan, 'By my word (במימרי) have I sworn.' As, then, in the instance, 'By my word, I have sworn,' is exclusive of a second person, and is another formulary for 'By myself,' and cannot be rendered in any other sense or relation; so we must conclude that the Targumist, in the words, 'Look unto my word,' 'In the word of Jah, &c.', intended no other sense than that which the Hebrew text before him conveyed, 'Look unto me'—'In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified.' Why should the phrase in verses 22, 24, 25, be understood in a different sense from that which it bears in verse 23? There seems no ground whatever for assuming another application of the phrase in those verses, than that which is clearly apparent in the other instance. The introduction of a second person is altogether unauthorized; and nothing can be inferred from the language of the Targum, which is not intended and directly conveyed by the original expressions in the prophet. Mr. Gurney quotes other passages; but those to which he attaches most importance, are equally insufficient to support the doctrine which he imagines they contain.

'The 18th and 19th chapters of Genesis describe an actual appearance of Jehovah, who came down to converse with Abraham, and to destroy Sodom. This *present Deity* is in the same Targum (the Jerusalem) denominated "the Word of Jah"; and Gen. xix. 24, in which verse we read that "*Jehovah* rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah, brimstone and fire *from Jehovah* out of heaven," is there paraphrased in the following explicit manner: "And the *Word of Jah* sent down upon them sulphur and fire (יָהּ קָדַם אֵשׁ) from the presence of *Jah* out of heaven." p. 136.

We must repeat the remark, that Mr. Gurney has imposed upon the expressions, by his mode of displaying the words in question, a sense which they do not in themselves convey. We perceive nothing explicit in the paraphrase, nothing which is not in exact agreement with the Hebrew text. But if Mr. Gurney considers this as an explicit passage, what will he say to the same passage as it appears in the Targum of Jonathan?—'And the word of Jah sent down the rains of his goodness upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah, that they might repent; but they repented not, but said, Our evil deeds are not manifest before Jah: then were sent down upon them sulphur and fire from the presence of the word of Jah out of heaven?' In the Jerusalem Targum, 'the word of Jah' corresponds to the name Jehovah in the first member of the verse; as does the phrase, 'from the presence of

'Jah,' in the second, answer to 'from Jehovah' in the conclusion of the verse. In the Targum of Jonathan, 'the word of Jah' is used in both instances, as a periphrasis for the original expression. No second person is indicated by the use of such terms. In the second Psalm, vs. 4, we have, "He who sits in heaven shall laugh, the word of Jah shall have them in derision." The subject of the predication is but one. Ps. cxviii. 8, 9. "It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in man. It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes." In the Targum we have, in both clauses, 'to trust in the word of Jah.' We are surprised at the facility with which Mr. Gurney, following some other writers, who, whatever be the qualities which we may approve in them, are not to be described as judicious critics, admits such conclusions as abound in this Dissertation.

'In Gen. xx. 3, we read, that "God came to Abimelech in a dream, and said to him", &c. Onkelos has here distinguished the divine Person who came to Abimelech, from God who sent him. His paraphrase is as follows: "*And the Word from the presence of Jah* (or Jehovah) came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him," &c.' pp. 136—7.

The whole of the expressions marked by italics in this extract, are simply a periphrasis for the name of the Divine Being: this sufficiently appears from the next verse, in which we find Abimelech invoking the name of *Jah* as the person appearing to him. The same expressions are of frequent occurrence in the Targumists, and imply nothing of distinction or of mission. So, in Gen. xxxi. 24, "God came to Laban the Syrian, in a dream by night", is, in Onkelos, 'And the word from the presence of Jah, came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night.' Laban, referring to this appearance, v. 29, describes it by the words, 'the God of your father.' In Num. xxii. 9, we have in Onkelos the same phrase: 'And the word from the presence of Jah came to Balaam, and said, Who are these men who are with thee?' followed by v. 10, 'And Balaam said before Jah.'

In Gen. xxxi. 13, the angel of Jehovah proclaims himself to be the God to whom Jacob vowed his vow at Bethel. 'Now', says Mr. Gurney, 'according to Onkelos, it was to the *Word of Jah* that the vow of Jacob was addressed. "And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, if the *Word of Jah* will be my help, and will keep me in this way in which I am going, &c., then shall the *Word of Jah be my God.*"' * But the passage in Onkelos expresses nothing more than is contained in the Hebrew text. In the Targum of Jonathan, the whole appears as follows.

* Gen. xxviii. 20.

Gen. xxviii. 13, 'I am Jah, the God of thy father Abraham, and the God of Isaac.—15, And behold my word shall be thy help.—20, And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If the word of Jah will be my help, and will keep me—in this way in which I am going,—then shall Jah be my God.' The expressions are interchangeable, and refer to the same subject. So, in Gen. xlix. 9,—'My sons whom the word of Jah gave to me', as we read in the Targum of Jonathan, is, in Onkelos, 'whom Jah has given me.' Had the Targumists used the expressions in the manner represented by the Author, there are passages in which they would have employed them, but in which we find a different usage. In Gen. i. 26, the Targum of Jonathan reads: 'And Jah said to his angels, who ministered before him, who were created on the second day, Let us make man in our image.' If, in such a passage, we had read, 'And Jah said to his Word', Mr. Gurney's notions might seem not to have wanted support.

We cannot then, subscribe to the notion that, in the language, of the Targumists, there is any thing corresponding to the expressions used by the Evangelist John in the Introduction to his Gospel, or that they supply any confirmation of his doctrine respecting the personality and deity of the Son of God. Whatever may be the origin of the term *logos*, unquestionably applied by the Apostle to Christ, we entirely agree with Michaelis, that it was not derived from the Targums, since they never intended by the expression, *word of Jah*, to denote a Being separate and distinct from Jehovah himself. If the phrase had any such meaning, and were so abundantly employed by the Chaldee paraphrasts in the sense attributed to it by Mr. Gurney, it is impossible to suppose that it would be neglected, and that frequent references to it should not be made by the Writers of the New Testament, and by our Lord himself. In all his conferences with the Jews, and in the whole of his discourses, there is no instance of his appealing to them as possessed of traditionary knowledge which included representations of himself so direct and formal.

The introduction of the Apostle John's Gospel is one of the passages in the New Testament which necessarily engages the critical attention of the Author. By all the most eminent commentators of ancient and modern times, the verses which it includes, have been regarded as conveying in very decisive terms the doctrine of Our Lord's preexistent divinity. In his ninth Dissertation, Mr. Gurney discusses the import of the expressions in the third verse: "All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." We are sometimes told, in respect to particular interpretations of biblical terms, that no unprejudiced inquirer would deduce them from the passages in which they occur. May we not ask, whether any unbiassed reader could ever conclude the meaning of this verse to be,

‘All things in the Christian dispensation were done by Christ, i. e. by his authority, and according to his direction; and in the ministry committed to his apostles, nothing has been done without his warrant?’ This is the explanation given by the Editors of the ‘Improved Version,’ who render: ‘All things were done by him; and without him was not any thing done that hath been done.’ In support of this rendering, we are referred in their note, to John xv. 4, 5, where we are certainly unable to find any confirmation of it. “Severed from me, ye can do nothing,” are words which assuredly bear no relation to Christ’s warrant or authority as establishing the Christian dispensation. They occur in his discourse respecting himself as the vine, and his disciples as the branches, and are entirely practical, referring to the faith and obedience of his followers. In the verse under notice, the common exposition is undoubtedly the true one. In Genesis i. 3, ἐγένετο φῶς, in the Septuagint version, is ‘light was produced,’ and so πάντα—ἐγένετο, in John i. 3, is to be explained of the origin of things. In Mr. Gurney’s Dissertation, the generally received reading of the passage is vindicated, but we cannot, in every instance, entirely approve of the mode by which he reaches his conclusion.

‘The title Word, which is here applied to Our Saviour, carries with it an especial allusion to this very doctrine—that by him, God created all things. *That God created by his word*, is a truth declared in the Hebrew Scriptures; in the Apocrypha; and as appears from the preceding note, in the Jewish Targums.’

The passages of the Bible, to which Mr. Gurney refers, are, Gen. i. 3; Ps. xxxiii, 6. We do not see the propriety of the reference, in connexion with the subject of his remarks. No coincidence or agreement of expression appears between the term Word, λόγος, as used by John, and the phrase, ‘God said,’ in Gen. i. 3. In Psalm xxxiii. 6, “By the word of the Lord, τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Κυρίου, were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth,” there is nothing in accordance with the term used by the Evangelist. In the Apocryphal book of Wisdom ix. 1, the passage to which Mr. Gurney’s reference directs us, we have ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐν λόγῳ σου, ‘who hast made all things by thy word.’ But in these passages, λόγος does not signify person; nor, as the term is used by the Evangelist to denote a personal subsistence, can his use of it receive any illustration from such references as the preceding. There is more than verbal obscurity in such a sentence as the following, p. 153. ‘From Gen. i., 3, 6, &c., we find that, in this “beginning,” God repeatedly expressed his will and spake the word; and accordingly, we learn from John, that “In the beginning, *was the Word, and the Word was with God.*”’ Speech is attributed

to the Omnipotent Creator, *more humano*, as commanding the world, and the things successively described as being formed, into existence,—‘He spake, and it was done;’ but John cannot be understood as alluding, in the opening of his gospel, to the creative command, the almighty *fiat*.

Mr. Gurney's criticisms on the important topics of his Notes and Illustrations, are copious and elaborate, and abundantly shew that there is no penury of evidence to support the evangelical doctrines which he so ably vindicates. Our strictures on the objectionable passages which we have noticed, seemed to us necessary, in order to relieve a solid argument from the unnecessary assumptions with which he has encumbered it. The length to which our animadversions have extended, forbid our adverting to the critical reasonings which meet our approval. From the conclusion of the work, which is entirely practical, and conveys in a very serious and impressive manner, the thoughts of the highly respectable Author on the importance of the doctrine maintained by him, we extract the following paragraphs.

‘—A belief of the deity of Christ is not only inseparably connected with the Christian's *experience*, but is essential to the *general maintenance of his creed*. That this is true, however, is still more clearly proved by the notorious fact, that a denial of that doctrine is ever accompanied by a corresponding degeneracy of religious sentiment, in relation to other important particulars in the system of Christianity.

‘Those who allow that God was manifest in the flesh—that the ONLY BEGOTTEN SON was clothed with humanity, and died on the cross to save us—are naturally impressed with the malignity of sin and with the weight of its eternal consequences, which called for *such* a surrender, for *such* a sacrifice. But to the unbeliever in the deity of the Son of God, *sin* is no longer a mortal offence against a Being of perfect holiness. It assumes the softer name of “moral evil.” The existence of it is ascribed to the Creator himself, and in connection with its punishment, it is even regarded as forming one part of a providential chain, which is destined to terminate in the happiness of the sinner. Satan is transformed, from the father of lies, a murderer from the beginning, the deceiver, accuser, and destroyer of men—into a harmless metaphor—a mere figure of poetry. Hell, of course, is robbed of its deepest terrors, and is treated of, not as a place of eternal punishment, but as one of temporary and corrective suffering—a purgatory provided in mercy, rather than ordained in judgment.

‘With these unscriptural views of sin, its author, its origin, and its effects, is inseparably connected a partial and inadequate estimate of the *law of righteousness*, which sinks down from the high and consistent level, maintained in Scripture, of *universal godliness*; and while it still borrows something from Christianity, gradually assumes the shape of a worldly, though plausible, moral philosophy.

‘Since man is no longer regarded as a fallen and lost creature, prone to iniquity, and corrupt at core, but as a being essentially virtuous, it is plain that he can no longer be considered as standing in need of Re-

demption. That word may indeed, in some metaphorical sense, find its way into the creed of those persons who reject the deity of Jesus Christ. But the doctrine of *pardon through faith in his blood* is dismissed as unnecessary and absurd; *unnecessary*, because we are *not* under the curse of the law; *absurd*, because it is inconceivable that a mere man, "weak and peccable like ourselves", could possibly atone for the sins of the world.

'In like manner, the doctrine of a spiritual influence, freely bestowed by a glorified Saviour for our conversion and sanctification, is discarded as untenable. On the one hand, such an influence is no longer required; on the other, the greatest of merely human prophets can have no power to bestow it. Since, indeed, the divine character and inward operation of the Holy Ghost, are intimately connected, in the system of revealed truth, with the deity and atonement of Christ, it naturally follows that the latter doctrines cannot be forsaken, without the surrender of the former. In point of fact, they usually disappear at the same time, or in rapid succession, from the creed of the sceptic.

'Lastly, since the Bible has explicitly declared the several doctrines, to which we have alluded, its plain declarations (in order to meet these novel views) must now be interpreted, as harsh, unnatural metaphors—as strained, oriental figures. Hence its authority is gradually weakened, and although perhaps it is still allowed to contain much true history and some divine doctrine, it descends from its lofty station of a volume truly "given by inspiration of God." No longer are its contents food for daily, pious meditation; no longer is it the test by the *simple* application of which, all questions in religion must be tried and determined. On the whole, revelation is marred, and religion becomes a wreck. Man is left to the perilous guidance of his own perverted reason, and must steer his course through the ocean of life, *without the true rudder*.

'It may perhaps be objected that the degeneracy of religious sentiment, to which we have now adverted, attaches chiefly to the *lowest grade* of faith in relation to the person of Christ; and this is certainly true. Nevertheless it is, I believe, in various degrees, the inevitable accompaniment of every system which does not include the doctrine of his deity; and the lower we fall in our estimate of HIM, the greater and more conspicuous this degeneracy becomes. The lines which separate the different classes of persons, who reject the deity of Christ, are of a finite breadth and easily passable. The broad, impassable distinction—the *infinite* difference of opinion—lies between those who confess their Saviour to be God, and all who regard him only as a creature.' pp. 468—471.

The volume affords abundant marks of extensive reading and accomplished scholarship; but it is as a practical and devotional writer that Mr. Gurney will, probably, be most useful and most deservedly honoured.

Art. VI. *Principles of Church Reform.* By Thomas Arnold, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 88. London, 1833.

FROM a crowd of publications upon this fertile topic, of which a list will be found in another part of our Number, we have selected this very able pamphlet,—not with the intention of making it the text of any lengthened remarks, but for the simple purpose of strongly recommending it to the attention of our readers. We do not mean to intimate that we agree with Dr. Arnold as to either all his principles or his scheme of comprehension. We greatly fear that the time for such irenical measures is gone by, and that the temper of all parties would be fiercely opposed to the very mention of any plan of the kind. Upon some future occasion, we may, perhaps, enter the lists with the present Writer respecting those points upon which he assails the Dissenters. We are nevertheless so much delighted to meet with an antagonist of his comprehensive mind, independent and patriotic views, and catholic spirit, that we cannot withhold our approbation of his object and purpose, although we may deem his plan chimerical and his principles vulnerable. The following remarks, we are confident, must gratify our readers.

‘Whoever is acquainted with Christianity, must see that differences of opinion among Christians are absolutely unavoidable. First, because our religion being a thing of the deepest personal interest, we are keenly alive to all the great questions connected with it, which was not the case with heathenism. Secondly, these questions are exceedingly numerous, inasmuch as our religion affects our whole moral being, and must involve, therefore, a great variety of metaphysical, moral, and political points;—that is to say, those very points which, lying out of the reach of demonstrative science, are, through the constitution of man’s nature, peculiarly apt to be regarded by different minds differently. And thirdly, although all Christians allow the Scriptures to be of decisive authority, whenever their judgement is pronounced on any given case, yet the peculiar form of these Scriptures, which in the New Testament is rather that of a commentary than of a text;—the critical difficulties attending their interpretation, and the still greater difficulty as to their application;—it being a constant question whether such and such rules, and still more whether such and such recorded facts or practices, were meant to be universally binding;—and it being a farther question, amidst the infinite variety of human affairs, whether any case, differing more or less in its circumstances, properly comes under the scope of any given Scripture rule;—all these things prevent the Scriptures from being in practice decisive on controverted points, because the contending parties, while alike acknowledging the judge’s authority, persist in putting a different construction upon the words of his sentence.

‘Aware of this state of things, and aware also with characteristic

wisdom, of the deadly evil of religious divisions, the Roman Catholic Church ascribed to the sovereign power in the Christian society in every successive age, an infallible spirit of truth, whereby the real meaning of any disputed passage of Scripture might be certainly and authoritatively declared; and if the Scripture were silent, then the living voice of the Church might supply its place,—and being guided by that same Spirit which had inspired the written Word, might pronounce upon any new point of controversy with a decision of no less authority.

‘ With the same view of preventing divisions, the unity of the Church was maintained, in a sense perfectly intelligible and consistent. Christians, wherever they lived, belonged literally to one and the same society,—they were subject to the same laws and to the same government. National and political distinctions were wholly lost sight of; the vicar of Christ and his general council knew nothing of England or of France, of Germany or of Spain; they made laws for *Christendom*—a magnificent word, and well expressing those high and consistent notions of unity, on which the Church of Rome based its system. One government, one law, one faith, kept free from doubt and error by the support of an infallible authority—the theory was in perfect harmony with itself, and most imposing from its beauty and apparent usefulness; but it began with assuming a falsehood, and its intended conclusion was an impossibility.

‘ It is false that there exists in the Church any power or office endowed with the gift of infallible wisdom; and therefore it is impossible to prevent differences of opinion. But the claim to infallibility was not only false but mischievous; because it encouraged the notion that these differences were to be condemned and prevented, and thus hindered men from learning the truer and better lesson, how to make them perfectly compatible with Christian union. Doubtless it were a far happier state of things if men did not differ from each other at all;—but this may be wished for only; it is a serious folly to expect it. For so, while grieving over an inevitable evil, we heap on it aggravations of our own making, which are far worse than the original mischief. Differences of opinion will exist, but it is our fault that they should have been considered equivalent to differences of principle, and made a reason for separation and hostility.

‘ Our fathers rightly appreciated the value of church unity; but they strangely mistook the means of preserving it. Their system consisted in drawing up a statement of what they deemed important truths, and in appointing a form of worship and a ceremonial which they believed to be at once dignified and edifying; and when they proposed to oblige every man, by the dread of legal penalties or disqualifications, to subscribe to their opinions and to conform to their rites and practices. But they forgot that while requiring this agreement, they had themselves disclaimed, what alone could justify them in enforcing it—the possession of infallibility. They had parted with the weapon which would have served them most effectually, and strange were the expedients resorted to for supplying its place. At one time it was the Apostle’s Creed; at another, the decrees of the four first general councils; or, at another, the general consent of the

primitiæ Church, which formed an authoritative standard of such truths as might not be questioned without heresy. But though the elephant might still rest upon the tortoise, and the tortoise on the stone, yet since the claim to infallibility was once abandoned, the stone itself rested on nothing. The four first councils were appealed to as sanctioning their interpretation of Scripture by men who yet confessed that the decisions of these councils were only of force, because they were agreeable to the Scripture. Turn which ever way they would, they sought in vain for an *authority* in religious controversies; infallibility being nowhere to be found, it was merely opinion against opinion; and however convinced either party might be of the truth of its own views, they had no right to judge their opponents.

‘ With regard to the ceremonies and practices of the Church, a different ground was taken. It is curious to observe the contradictory positions in which the two parties were placed:—the Church of England enforcing a tyranny upon principles in themselves most liberal and most true;—the Dissenters accidentally advocating the cause of liberty, while their principles were those of the most narrow-minded fanaticism. One feels ashamed to think that the great truths so clearly and so eloquently established by Hooker, in the earlier books of his Ecclesiastical Polity, should have served in practice the petty tyranny of Laud and Whitgift, or the utterly selfish and worldly policy of Elizabeth. The Church of England maintained most truly, that rites and ceremonies, being things indifferent in themselves, might be altered according to the difference of times and countries, and that the regulation of such matters was left wholly to the national Church. But inasmuch as the government of the national Church was a mere despotism—the crown having virtually transferred to itself the authority formerly exercised by the Popes—its appointments were made with an imperious stiffness, which was the more offensive from the confessed indifferent nature of the matters in question; and while one ritual was inflexibly imposed upon the whole community, in direct opposition to the feelings of many of its members, and too simple and unattractive to engage the sympathies of the multitude, this fond attempt to arrive at uniformity, inflicted a deadly blow, according to Lord Falkland’s most true observation on the real blessing of Christian union.’ pp. 15—21.

After a rapid sketch of the intervening period, Dr. Arnold thus adverts to the present aspect of parties.

‘ But the population outgrew the efforts both of the Church and of the Dissenters; and multitudes of persons existed in the country, who could not properly be said to belong to either. These were, of course, the most ignorant and degraded portion of the whole community,—a body whose influence is always for evil of some sort, but not always for evil of the same sort,—which is first the brute abettor and encourager of abuses, and afterwards their equally brute destroyer. For many years, the populace hated the Dissenters for the strictness of their lives, and because they had departed from the institutions of their country; for ignorance, before it is irritated by physical distress,

and thoroughly imbued with the excitement of political agitation, is blindly averse to all change, and looks upon reform as a trouble and a disturbance. Thus, the populace in Spain and in Naples have shown themselves decided enemies to the constitutional party; and thus the mob at Birmingham, so late as the year 1791, plundered and burnt houses to the cry of "Church and King," and threatened to roast Dr. Priestley alive, as a heretic. But there is a time, and it is one fraught with revolutions, when this tide of ignorance suddenly turns, and runs in the opposite direction with equal violence. Distress and continued agitation produce this change; but its peculiar danger arises from this, that its causes operate for a long time without any apparent effect, and we observe their seeming inefficiency till we think that there is nothing to fear from them; when suddenly the ground falls in under our feet, and we find that their work, though slow, had been done but too surely. And this is now the case with the populace of England. From cheering for Church and King, they are now come to cry for no bishops, no tithes, and no rates; from persecuting the Dissenters, because they had separated from the Church, they are now eagerly joining with them for that very same reason; while the Dissenters, on their part, readily welcome these new auxiliaries, and reckon on their aid for effecting the complete destruction of their old enemy.'
pp. 26, 27.

This is not, perhaps, quite a correct statement, as regards the whole body; but we must defer all observations till another opportunity.

NOTICES.

Art. VII. *The Annual Biography and Obituary*. 1833. Vol. XVII. 8vo. pp. 476. London. 1833.

THIS publication is very respectably maintained; and the last year has been remarkable for the number of eminent men whom it has carried off. The principal memoirs in the present volume are, the poet Crabbe; Sir William Grant; Bishop Huntingford; Dr. Adam Clarke; Sir James Mackintosh; (*see our first article in the present Number*;) Muzio Clementi; Sir Walter Scott; Charles Butler, Esq.; Bishop Turner; Anna Maria Porter; and Jeremy Bentham. The last article is furnished by a zealous disciple and admirer. Of course, in a compilation like the present, the reader will not look for any thing so rare and valuable as impartial or elaborate biography. Facts, not opinions, are all that it should be attempted to supply.

Art. IX. *The Religion of Taste*, a Poem. By Carlos Wilcox. Reprinted from the American Edition of his *Literary Remains*. 18mo. pp. 56. London. 1832.

THE Author of this Poem was a native of Newport in New Hampshire, and was born of respectable parents in 1794. In his thirtieth year, he was ordained as the pastor of a church at Hartford; but in about a year and a half, he was compelled by ill health to resign his charge; and after lingering for some time, he expired May 29, 1827. His object in this Poem was, to warn persons of the same ardent and poetic temperament as himself, that the vital spirit of Christianity is something more than a susceptibility of natural and moral beauty,—something more than ‘the religion of taste.’ Of the genius displayed by this American Poet, the following stanzas will enable our readers to judge.

‘ XXVII.

‘ To love the beautiful is not to hate
The holy, nor to wander from the true;
Else why in Eden did its Lord create
Each green and shapely tree to please the view?
Why not enough that there the fruitful grew?
But wherefore think it virtue pure and blest
To feast the eye with shape and bloom and hue?
Or wherefore think it holier than the zest
With which the purple grape by panting lips is prest.

‘ XXVIII.

‘ The rose delights with colour and with form,
Nor less with fragrance; but to love the flower
For either, or for all, is not to warm
The bosom with the thought of that high Power,
Who gathered all into its blooming hour:
As well might love of gold be love to Him,
Who on the mountain poured its pristine shower,
And buried it in currents deep and dim,
Or spread it in bright drops along the river’s brim.

‘ XXIX.

‘ Yet Taste and Virtue are not born to strife;
’Tis when the earthly would the heavenly scorn,
Nor merely spread with flowers, her path to life,
But would supplant when bound to cheer and warn,
Or at the touch of every wounding thorn
Would tempt her from that path, or bid her trust
No truth too high for fancy to adorn,
And turn from all too humble with disgust;
’Tis then she wakes a war, when in her pride unjust.

' XXX.

' But oft in Taste when mindful of her birth,
Celestial Virtue owns a mortal friend,
A fit interpreter of scenes of earth,
And one delighting thought with hers to blend
Amid their loveliness, and prompt to lend
The light and charm of her own smile to all ;—
Thus when to heaven our best affections tend,
Taste helps the spirit upward at the call
Of Faith and echoing Hope, or scorns to work its fall.

' XXXI.

' The path we love,—to that all things allure ;
We give them power malignant or benign ;
Yes, to the pure in heart all things are pure ;
And to the bright in fancy, all things shine ;
All frown on those that in deep sorrow pine,
Smile on the cheerful, lead the wise abroad
O'er Nature's realm in search of laws divine ;
All draw the earthly down to their vile clod ;
And all unite to lift the heavenly to their God.

' XXXII.

' The universe is calm to faith serene ;
And all with glory shines to her bright eye ;
The mount of Sion, crowned with living green
By all the beams and dews of its pure sky,
She sees o'er clouds and tempests rising high
From its one fountain pouring streams that bear
Fresh life and beauty, ne'er to fade and die,
But make the blasted earth an aspect wear,
Like that of its blest prime, divinely rich and fair.'

Art. IX. CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

SIR,

WERE it not that the concluding part of your observations on the Letter which you did me the favour to print in the last Number of your Journal, may lead your readers to infer that I evaded giving an opinion as to the validity of one of the authorities quoted from Mr. Hanbury (*Ecl. Rev.* Oct. 1832, p. 293,) I should not so soon have again trespassed on your time and patience. To obviate such an inference, therefore, you will, perhaps, allow me to observe, that I omitted to notice that authority merely because I conceived it to be entirely set aside by what I had already written. In the absence of all original documents, the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* affirms, that "it is certain that the disputed Clause of the XXth Article of the Church of England was never composed by, nor exhibited in manuscript to, the Convocation". Archbishop Laud, on the contrary, appeals to the then existing *manuscript Records of Convocation* as containing the Clause, and his appeal is left uncontradicted by persons who had the power, and the will, to controvert that appeal if contradiction had been possible. The only question then which remains is this: Is the assertion that "none ever ventured to impugn" Laud's appeal to the Records, "unsupported" by history? The facts of the case, so far as my information extends, are briefly these: Dr. Laud is charged in 1637 with having illegally made alterations in certain Formularies sanctioned by Acts of Parliament:—among other alterations specifically charged upon him was the interpolation of a Clause in the XXth Article.—Laud had "the impudency" (as Prynne has it) to justify such alterations as he admitted to have been made, but denied that any *addition* whatever had been introduced into the XXth Article; maintaining, on the contrary, that the Clause which he had been accused of forging, was to be found in the original Records of Convocation, and producing at the same time "an attested Copy" of that Clause extracted from those Records. At this point, however, it is argued, that "the controversy was cut short, not by evidence, but by authority." Let us enquire, then, how far this "assertion" is supported by fact. Admitting that the controversy was terminated by authority in 1637, yet, in March, 1644, the House of Commons ordered that "Master Prynne hath power to view, and send for, Writings, Papers, Orders, and Records, and to take copies thereof as he sees cause;" and this for the very purpose, among other things, of carrying on the controversy in question. The consequence was, that, in the course of Laud's impeachment, those "publike Records of the Church" which he is said to have altered, are again specifically pointed out;—his Speech in the Star-Chamber in defence of those alterations is expressly recited;—but the charge of having interpolated a Clause in the XXth Article is never once alluded to. But of how much consequence it would have been to set aside the Archbishop's appeal to the Records of Convocation, will at once occur to your readers

when they consider that such a result would have afforded additional matter of grave accusation against Laud in that it would have fastened upon him the wickedness of having produced in the Star-Chamber a *forged Instrument* which professed to be an "attested Copy" of a Clause that did not in fact exist. On the other hand, to pass the matter over in silence, as the Archbishop's accusers did, was, in my apprehension, tacitly to admit that the Instrument exhibited by him in the Star-Chamber was a *true Copy of a Clause actually to be found in the Records of the Convocation*. I am the more disposed, also, to adhere to this conclusion, because it is matter of notoriety that Prynne, to whom the task of collecting evidence against Laud was entrusted, was, (with all his defects of character,) too acute a man to have omitted to bring forward so grave a charge against the accused as that above-mentioned, provided there had been ground for it; and too honest a man to repeat the charge of Laud's having interpolated an Article of Religion, if he found by reference to documents that such a charge was destitute of foundation.

Whether or not Laud, in his defence in the Star Chamber, actually "*produced*" any early editions of the Articles, may not appear; but I do not find that those who afterwards examined his library ever taxed him with referring to editions which he did not possess. He doubtless *might* have produced such early editions of the Articles if it had been necessary, for there are now existing a Latin edition, 1563, printed by Wolfe; one, if not two, English editions, printed by Jugg and Cawood, 1551; what is considered, the Authentic Edition in English, 1571, by the last named printers; besides other editions of later date,—all containing the disputed clause. An enumeration of the earlier editions may, I believe, be seen in the Preface to Bennett's Historical Essay on the Articles.

With regard to the Note in Archdeacon Blackburn's Confessional, to which you refer, I am quite willing to leave your readers to decide between the considerations which I have submitted to your notice, and any inference which the Archdeacon may have been able to deduce against the authenticity of the disputed clause, from Mr. Hale's Letter to Dr. Laud. The only remark, therefore, I think it necessary to make on that note is, that the whole question depends not on what is found in any *Latin* edition of the Articles, but on what is read in that *English edition referred to by the Act 13th of Elizabeth*, under the title of "A booke imprinted," &c. The Records of the Convocation from which that edition was printed having been destroyed, the authenticity of the disputed clause in the Twentieth Article may ever remain among the *questiones vexatæ* of literature; yet, it seems to me, that there is sufficient evidence in its favour to induce any *scholar* to hesitate before he authoritatively pronounces that clause to be a "forgery."

It now only remains for me to apologize for having inflicted such a lengthy communication upon you, but my excuse must be the pleasure one cannot but feel in discussing any subject with an impartial opponent. I can also, in much sincerity, assure you, that in these days of ignorant prejudice and evil passion, it is no small satisfaction to correspond with a Journalist, whose honourable distinction is, that, in any

opposition he may feel it necessary to manifest towards the Church of England, his aim is to found that opposition on argument, and not on clamour.

Dec. 22, 1832.

ONE OF YOUR READERS.

The above letter was received too late for insertion in our last Number. We have deemed it but fair to our courteous and well-informed Correspondent, to allow him the benefit of replying to our remarks; but here, our readers will probably think, the subject ought to drop. We will simply suggest, that, even although the charge which would fix the forgery upon Laud, may have been unsusceptible of proof, or without foundation, this circumstance would not prove that the clause was not originally an unauthorized interpolation. Laud's own admission, that in 1571, (the very year when the Articles were first confirmed by 13 Eliz. cap. 12,) the Articles were printed, both in Latin and English, without the clause, which he imputes to 'the malicious cunning of that opposite faction', who 'governed businesses in 1571, and rid the Church almost at their pleasure',—we must still consider as fatal to the authority of the clause. We say nothing here as to the wisdom of retaining it.

ART. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press, a Historical Sketch of the Baptist Denomination; presenting a view of its rise, progress, and present state, in all parts of the world; to which is added, an Alphabetical List of Baptist Churches in England, with dates of their formation, and names of Pastors. By Charles Thompson. In one small volume.

In the press, Notre Dame, a tale of the ancien Régime, from the French of Victor Hugo. By the translator of Wilson's Edition of "Lafayette."

In the press, to be ready on the 1st of March, Bagster's Improved Edition of Cruden's Concordance of the New Testament (being one of the "Polymicrian Series.")

This English Concordance may be united with Mr. Greenfield's edition of Schmidt's Greek Concordance (one of the *Polymicrian Series*), thereby, in one small volume will be found together the most complete Concordance extant of the Greek, and of the English New Testament.

Nearly ready for publication, The Leeds Sunday School Union Hymn Book, containing an entirely new Selection of 400 appropriate Hymns, each having been diligently compared with its most authentic copy, for the purpose of restoring that original beauty of which too many have been shorn by the frequent alterations of successive compilers. Several Hymns have been composed expressly for the work, and a collection for Teacher's Meetings has been appended, which the Editor hopes will be acceptable to "The Brethren."

A reprint of Professor Stuart's Commentary on the Romans, will very shortly be ready, printed at the especial request of the Professor, under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. J. Pye Smith, and the Rev. Dr. Henderson.

Preparing for publication, in royal 32mo. handsomely printed upon fine paper, hotpressed, and bound in rich watered silk, with gilt edges, *The Adieu! A Farewell Token to a Christian Friend*, consisting of entirely Original Pieces, in Prose and Verse. By the Author of "*Gideon*," "*The Lady at the Farm House*," "*My Early Years*," &c., and other Popular Writers.

Preparing for publication, *The Naturalist's Library*. Conducted by Sir William Jardine, Bart. F.R.S.E. F.L.S. &c. Illustrated with numerous coloured plates, engraved by W. H. Lizars, scap. 8vo. The subjects for the Volumes which are now in preparation are:—Vol. 1. Natural History of Monkeys.—2. The feline Race, or Animals of the Cat kind.—3. The Dog.—4. Sheep and Goats.—5. Deer.—6. Eagles and Hawks.—7. Humming Birds.—8. Creepers.—9. Gallinaceous Birds.—10. Partridges and Grouse.—11. Cetacea, or Whales.—12. The Salmon.—13. Coleopterous Insects, or Beetles.—14. Bees, &c.

In the press, *Philosophical Conversations*; in which are familiarly explained the Effects and Causes of many Daily Occurrences in Natural Phenomena. By F. C. Bakewell. 12mo.

Nearly ready, *The Angushire Album*; a Selection of Pieces, in Prose and Verse. By Gentlemen in Angushire.

The two following works are announced as the forthcoming volumes of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library:—1. *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, founded on Authentic and Original Documents, some of them never before published: including a View of the most Important Transactions in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; Sketches of Burleigh, Essex, Secretary Cecil, Sidney, Spenser, and other eminent Contemporaries: with a Vindication of his character from the attacks of Hume and other writers. By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., F.R.S. & F.S.A. With Portraits, &c. by Horsburgh and Jackson. 2. *Nubia and Abyssinia*; comprehending their Civil History, Antiquities, Arts, Religion, Literature, and Natural History. By the Rev. M. Russell, L.L.D.; James Wilson, Esq., F.R.S.E. & M.W.S.; and R. K. Greville, L.L.D. Illustrated by a Map and 12 Engravings.

Preparing for publication, a brief Memoir of the Pastor Neff, comprising information obtained from some of Neff's particular friends, respecting the change in his religious sentiments, and other interesting details. By the Author of the Memoir which appeared in the Congregational Magazine.

Shortly will be published, "*Johannice*," a Poem in Two Cantos; Monody on Lord Byron; and other Poems. By the Rev. John Dryden Pigott, Jun., B.A., of Christ Church, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Most Noble the Marquis of Tweeddale.

Ready for the press, *The Supreme Divinity of Christ, in connexion with His Human Nature, considered as the Basis of His Mediatorial Character.* By B. Quaife, Author of "*A Memento for the Afflicted.*"

Mr. Murray is preparing for publication, a new Monthly Work, illustrative of the pages of Holy Writ, consisting of Views of the most remarkable Places mentioned in the Bible. It will appear in the month of February, and will be called "*Landscape Illustrations of the Old and New Testaments.*" The Drawings, by J. M. W. Turner, R.A., and A. W. Callcott, R.A., are copied from *original and authentic* Sketches taken on the spot by Artists and Travellers; the utmost regard being paid to the fidelity of the views. The Plates will be engraved by William and Edward Finden, and other eminent Artists under their superintendence. A detailed Prospectus and a Specimen Plate will be issued immediately.

A New Edition of Wilbur's Reference Testament, with References and a Key of Questions, Maps, &c. &c., is nearly ready.

A New Edition of Prideaux's Directions to Churchwardens, with considerable Additions by Robert Philip Tyrwhitt, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, is nearly ready.

In the Press, and speedily will be published, in one small volume, 12mo, Questions, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical, formed on the Annotations to Dr. Bloomfield's Edition of the Greek Testament.—The work has been drawn up at the desire of some eminent Prelates, and other considerable persons of the Church and the Universities, by Dr. B. himself, and has been framed with especial reference to the Examinations at the Universities, and those for Holy Orders; though it is, at the same time, so formed as to be highly serviceable to all Theological readers.

In the Press, and speedily will be published, in 1 Vol. 8vo., a History of Croydon. By Steinman Steinman, Esq., Architect.

Dr. Boott is preparing for publication, in two Octavo Volumes, a Memoir of the Life and Medical Opinions of Dr. Armstrong, late Physician of the Fever Institution of London, and Author of "*Practical Illustrations of Typhus and Scarlet Fever*"; to which will be added, an Inquiry into the Facts connected with those Forms of Fever attributed to Malaria and Marsh Effluvia.

ART. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

John Milton; his Life and Times, Religious and Political Opinions; with Animadversions upon Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton. By Joseph Ivimey. 8vo. With a Portrait. 10s.

Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn, Knight, Admiral and General of the Fleet during the Interregnum, Admiral and Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy after the Restoration. From 1644 to 1670. By Granville Penn, Esq. 2 Vols. 8vo. With Plates. 1l. 16s.

The Remains of William Phelan, D.D.; with a Biographical Memoir. By John, Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

Lives, Characters, and an Address to Posterity. By Gilbert Burnet, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sarum. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by John Jebb, D.D., F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

HISTORY.

History of Spain and Portugal. From Dr Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia. 5 Vols. sm. 8vo. 1l. 10s. cloth.

Narrative of the Ashantee War; with a View of the Present State of the Colony of Sierra Leone. By Major Ricketts, late of the Royal African Colonial Corps. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the Ancient Albigenes and Waldenses. By the Rev. S. R. Maitland. 8vo. 16s.

MEDICINE.

A Practical Account of the Epidemic Cholera, and of the Treatment requisite in the various Modifications of that Disease. By William Twining, of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; First Assistant-Surgeon, General Hospital, Calcutta. Post 8vo. 6s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall. With a Geological Map of the County. 8vo. 16s.

Life Tables, founded upon the discovery of a numerical Law, regulating the existence of every human being; illustrated by a New Theory of the causes producing

health and longevity. By T. R. Edmonds, B.A., late of Trinity College, Cambridge, Author of "Practical Moral and Political Economy. Royal 8vo. 6s.

POLITICAL.

Principles of Church Reform. By Thomas Arnold, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 8vo. 2s.

An Address to the Clergy on Church Reform, with Remarks on the Plans of Lord Henley and Dr. Burton, and on the Article in the last Quarterly Review. By the Rev. William Pullen, B.A., Rector of Little Gidding, Hunts. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Church Reform; in which is suggested a Plan of Alterations both safe and efficient. By a Non-Beneficed Clergyman. 2s.

An Historical Argument on the Origin of Property of Tithes, with Remarks on the expediency of a fair and equitable Commutation, in a Letter to Earl Grey. By the Ven. George Glover, Archdeacon of Shrewsbury, Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. 1s. 6d.

Some Considerations on Church Reform, and on the Principles of Church Legislation. By the Rev. F. C. Massingberd, M.A., of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Rector of Ormsby, Lincolnshire. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Notes, Historical and Legal, on the Endowments of the Church of England. By W. Clayton Walters, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. 2s.

A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Henley, with Remarks on his Lordship's Letter to His Most Gracious Majesty the King, and on a Sequel to, and Observations upon the same, by the Rev. Edward Burton, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford; together with Hints for a Reform in the Church, and a general Commutation of Tithes. By Sir Thomas Buckler Lethbridge, Bart. 2s.

Calculations and Statements relating to the Trade between Great Britain and the United States of America. By W. F. Reuss. Royal 8vo. 1l. 1s.

A Justification of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain towards Holland. 8vo. 2s.

Church Reform on Christian Principles, considered in a Letter to the Lord Bishop of London. By Hastings Robinson, B.D. F.A.S. Rector of Great Worley, Essex. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Hints for Church Reform, addressed to the People of England. By a country Gentleman. 8vo. 1s.

Self Defence; being an Answer to a publication entitled, "War against the Church," &c. By the Rev. William Chaplin. 12mo. 3d.

A Cry to Ireland and the Empire. By an Irishman, formerly Member of the Royal College, Maynooth. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

A Letter to Lord Henley on his Plan of Church Reform. By Henry Frederick Stephenson, late M.P. for Westbury. 2s. 6d.

Reform Without Reconstruction, being an inquiry into the advantages of a safe and practicable arrangement for removing to a great extent inequalities in the Temporalities of the Established Church, without Legislative interference; accompanied with a Plan for the compression of the Liturgy and Ritual of the Church of England. By Uvedale Price, M.A. of Christ Church Oxford. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Remarks on the Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral Institutions in the Promotion of sound Religious Knowledge, occasioned by Lord Henley's Plan for their Abolition. By Edward Bouverie Pusey, B.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 8vo. 4s.

Remarks on Lord Henley and Dr. Burton on Church Reform, in a Letter to a Member of Parliament. By a Churchman. 8vo. 1s.

The Present Condition and Prospects of the Established Church, in a Letter to Sir Robert Peel, Bart. M.P. By M. A. 3s.

The Curate's Plea; or some Considerations respecting the Present Condition of

the Curates of the Church of England By L. L. B. 8vo. 1s.

A Letter from Legion to his Grace the Duke of Richmond, &c., Chairman of the Slavery Committee of the House of Lords; containing an Exposure of the Character of the Evidence on the Colonial side produced before the Committee. 8vo. 4s.

THEOLOGY.

Dissertations Vindicating the Church of England, with regard to some essential points of Polity and Doctrine. By the Rev. John Sinclair, A.M. of Pembroke College, Oxford, Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and Minister of St. Paul's Chapel, Edinburgh. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Happiness of the Blessed, considered as to the particulars of their State; their Recognition of each other in that State; and its Difference of Degrees. To which are added, Musings on the Church and her Services. By Richard Mant, D.D. Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

The Book of Psalms, wherein, without note or comment, the original meaning is made intelligible to general readers, and the diction assumes a form which, from the days of Milton, has been deemed most congenial to sacred Poetry. By the Rev. George M. Musgrave, A.M., B.N.C., Oxon. 8vo.

TOPOGRAPHY.

Sketches of Vesuvius, with short accounts of its principal eruptions, from the commencement of the Christian Era to the present time. By John Auldjo, Esq. F.G.S. &c. Author of "A Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc." With numerous Plates. 8vo.

TRAVELS.

America and the Americans. By a Citizen of the United States. 8vo. 12s.

ERRATUM.

The reader is requested to correct an obvious error at page 107 of the present Number. At line 16, for 1788 read 1688.

The Title, Contents, and Index to Vol. VIII, have been delayed by accidental circumstances, and will be given in the next Number.